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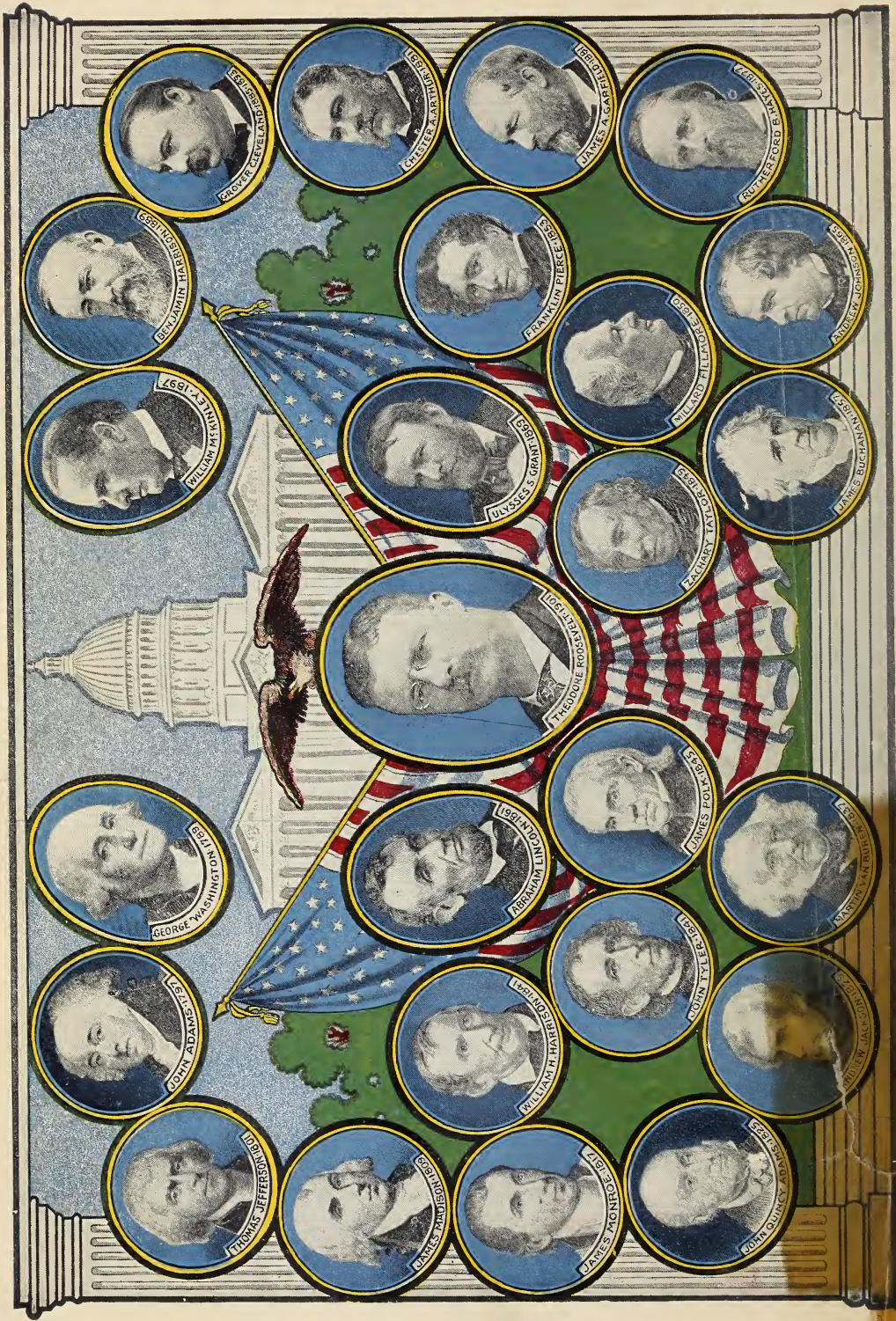


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PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

ADVENTUROUS LIFE
AND
HEROIC DEEDS OF
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

CONTAINING A

FULL ACCOUNT OF HIS DISTINGUISHED CAREER; HIS AN-
CESTRY AND EDUCATION; LIFE ON A WESTERN RANCH
AMONG THE COWBOYS; GOVERNOR OF NEW
YORK; ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE
NAVY; FAMOUS LEADER OF THE
ROUGH RIDERS, ETC.

TOGETHER WITH

HIS REMARKABLE CHARACTERISTICS

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION; HIS WISE
STATESMANSHIP; HIS MANLY COURAGE,
PATRIOTISM, ETC., ETC.

RENDERING HIM A

MODEL FOR THE YOUNG MEN OF AMERICA

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

By HON. MURAT HALSTEAD, THE FAMOUS AUTHOR

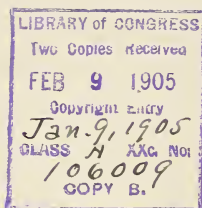
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PREFACE.

ONCE in many years comes a man whose character and deeds distinguish him above all others, and the story of whose life has a resistless fascination. Such a man is President Roosevelt. This attractive volume depicts his sterling qualities and the marvelous triumphs of his phenomenal career.

Coming generations will look back over the long list of Presidents of our country, and Roosevelt will be named as the greatest man after Washington and Lincoln. These illustrious names will stand preeminent in the history of our country, for, while many able men have occupied the presidential chair, Washington, Lincoln and Roosevelt tower far above all others.

The work treats of Roosevelt's boyhood and early life, relating all facts and incidents that are of special interest to the reader. He was an example of untiring energy and earnest endeavor. Once his noble purpose was formed, he pressed forward with a brave and resolute determination that overcome every obstacle and assured success.

Such was his sturdy integrity and thorough honesty that he gained the complete confidence of all who knew him. He was a hard student in college; loved work for its own sake; and became noted for all traits essential to a splendid manhood.

Shams and deceptions were his abhorrence, a feeling he has shown in every position he has ever occupied. His sympathy with those in humble life, the hardy yeomanry and rank and file of the nation, has always been conspicuous, and has made him the idol of the people.

As an official connected with the New York City Government and State Legislature, he was noted as the foe of all political corruption. No man dared approach him with any base suggestion or dishonorable offer. Against all intrigue, all meanness, all selfishness, he rose like a giant in his wrath, and bravely battled for the right. He was the kind of man wanted in public life. He had shown himself to be a brilliant author, a far-seeing states-

man, an incorruptible patriot, fully equipped for any position in the nation.

In every public place he ever occupied he has shown his unflinching integrity, his superb courage and his grand devotion to the best interests of the people. He is a man who never could be influenced by the promoters of disreputable schemes.

As Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he prepared the way for Admiral Dewey to sink the Spanish fleet at Manila, and gain his great naval victory. Mr. Roosevelt was not satisfied with doing this. His patriotic spirit was aroused and he wanted to be in the thick of the fight. The story of his heroism in Cuba, leading his famous Rough Riders to victory, forms one of the most thrilling pages in American history.

Mr. Roosevelt was suddenly called to the Presidency by the terrible tragedy that caused the death of President McKinley. He instantly commanded the confidence of the nation. He had proved his splendid qualities as a member of the New York Legislature and as Governor of the State, and also as Assistant Secretary of the Navy at Washington.

With becoming modesty, and impressed with his vast responsibility, he entered upon the duties of his high office. He at once towered up like a giant. It was seen that a brave and competent man was at the helm of State.

He gathered around him the ablest men in the nation. He urged reciprocity with Cuba. He advocated the World's Fair at St. Louis. He seized the opportunity to secure the Panama Canal. His policy with regard to trusts has been applauded and endorsed by the people of our whole country.

These are only a few of the bright gems in the crown of President Roosevelt. As Student, as Ranchman, as State Officer, as Secretary of the Navy and President of our great Nation, he has proven himself equal to every emergency.

INTRODUCTION.

By HON. MURAT HALSTEAD.

Theodore Roosevelt appeared in a National Republican Convention twenty years ago, at the head of the New York delegation, and his characteristics then were as they now are.

He had been conspicuous as a member of the Legislature of his State, and could neither be bought nor bullied. He did not revere the influences that employed the moral and material form of money, and he had the honor to become abhorrent to those who were brokers of legislation. He warred against those who possessed money power and misused it; and when attacked by ruffians, lifted up his hands against them and smote them according to science, having skill on the defensive, and his blows were delivered with smashing force. He was the youngest delegate in the convention that nominated Blaine for the Presidency, and attracted the attention of the leaders at that convention.

Roosevelt's candidate for the Presidency was Judge Edmunds, of Vermont, but he believed in organization and held it was a matter of personal honor, if the convention was fairly conducted, that the delegates defeated as representative men of a party of principle, should support the duly nominated candidates. Therefore, he is neither a free lance nor a free booter, but a plain, inflexible man of honor; and he abides by the integrity of the service of the people and holds to the higher standards of public life. He believes not in bosses, but in the discipline declared by the will of the majority.

It is a distinction that will forever be a landmark in the broad career of Theodore Roosevelt, that he is the first man elected Vice President as the constitution and the laws of Congress prescribe, succeeding to the Presidency by the death of the President, and then nominated by the great convention of his party, to be his own

successor in the office inherited. This fact is one that will add to the strength of the mechanism of our government.

John Tyler, Millard Fillmore and Chester A. Arthur, were candidates after their term covering the vacancy filled by the provision of law, and Andrew Johnson lost reciprocal relations with all the parties that existed at the time he held the exalted office.

The death of Vice President Hendricks occurred when there was no Speaker of the House and no President pro tempore of the Senate. Then Senator Edmunds had a fortunate thought, the result of which gave an increase of stability to the government. That which occurred to the Senator (his eminence as a lawyer was greater even than his standing as a statesman) was that the death of the Vice President had been under unparalleled circumstances, for if the death of the President—Grover Cleveland—should occur before provision could be made to find a successor, there was no man in the country who could become President automatically according to law.

Senator Edmunds called on President Cleveland, who was making ready to go to the funeral of Hendricks, at Indianapolis, and told him he must not go, for it was mid-winter, and the government, smooth as it was unquestionably working, must not be subject to any hazard, unless it was unavoidable; and this accounts for the fact that Mr. Cleveland was not present at the funeral of Mr. Hendricks. It was just one of the accidents that might happen.

The nomination, and there is good and abounding reason to believe, the election of President Roosevelt, will strengthen the succession. The weak spot discovered by Senator Edmunds has been mended. There is no fear now that the inheritors of the Presidency will be insufficient, and there is the added safeguard that the death of a President shall not in any conceivable situation cause a change in the policy of an Administration. When we consider the matter, it is with surprise we see the chances for trouble along the Presidential path, that we have escaped.

The Republicans of twenty-three States endorsed President Arthur's Administration, but he was not nominated for the great office. He was a most gentlemanly, kindly and vigilant President,

and won much favor from many people; but his strength and that of devoted friends, could not break the precedent formed by the people and his predecessors.

President Roosevelt's nomination for election in November, 1904, to the office he now fills, was for two years most vigorously opposed. The extraordinary achievements of his Administration, the excellence of his work, the scope of it, the firm grasp he has held in times of agitation, the sense of duty that was constantly present with him, the courage and judgment, the insight and the intelligence with which great questions were studied by him, the hardy fearlessness with which the problems that have seemed to threaten have been handled by him, and the pacification that has disturbed, not the safety, but bestowed contentment upon the country; and the sure touch with which he has reached and stilled and lighted up the hearts of the storm clouds that have darkened sections of the skies—all these things have impressed the American people that the man at the head of the government is equal to his task, just in his purpose, brave in confronting and performing the tasks that are within the horizon of the President's vision.

There is in his endowment a searching eye, a firm hand, an unwearied industry, a clear and lofty integrity, the luminous statesmanship, the soldier sense that springs to demolish wrong, that personifies the poet's portraiture, painted in two lines of Bayard Taylor,

"The braver are the tenderer,
The loving are the daring."

The unanimity of the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt, in the convention, that in a greater than common degree, all our countrymen were interested in, did not come until in nearly all the States—certainly all the doubtful ones—as to the impending nomination, or the promises of conflicts when election days came, had threshed out the series of personal and public questions that aroused controversy, if they did not propose or exasperate it. There never was a more searching examination of the facts, a thoroughness of greater precision in the initiative, or hammered harder to excellent and settled conclusions.

The convention represented the public opinion of the faithful people of the country. The battle was won, the field was clear, the country was cloudless. So far as the party with the chief immediate responsibility is concerned, the country had passed upon the issues, personal and political.

Throughout the land, the opposition to the continuance of the Roosevelt Administration, aroused excitement against the President, because he did not promise everything to everybody. The antagonists of the Roosevelt Administration and personality, were the first to declare war. The professedly independent newspapers all over the country began to skirmish, put in their torpedoes, sent forth the destroyers, got up steam on their cruisers, and the clink of hammers closing up the walls of the battle ships was heard day and night.

The alleged independent journals, of all colors, races and conditions, previous and present, have been bombarding the Roosevelt Administration for more than a year; and they have displayed their flags, used wireless telegraphy, sunk mines in harbors, and scattered them on the open seas, and they have spared nothing known in mechanics or chemistry to do mischief.

There were organizations in several of the States most highly esteemed by calculating politicians, to fight the approval of Roosevelt's Administration by his nomination for the Presidency. That has been going on, it is hardly too much to say, for more than two years; and if there were any bosses tender footed about perquisites, they were not for Roosevelt, but against him, and they were hard at it.

The very cheap papers that have such profuse efflorescence as Democratic independents, and that are so frantic for free trade, when the oceans are not as broad, measured by speed and cost of transportation, as the lakes that divide us from Canada were a hundred years ago—the journals that are so fierce for the freedom of outside commerce, have paper at one-seventh of the price reached before the Republicans protected our industries. The protective system was not broken by the Mugwumps and other theorists, and thus the cheapness of paper fortified their cheekiness.

The very distinguished and lamented, Senator Hanna, was for sometime rushed and pushed to become a candidate for the Presidency; that is, he was assumed to be personally anxious for the great office, and deceived into a destructiveness of temper for months before his loss of health and strength prevented further urgency of the grand old man, because he was already perishing from over work. It was known by those friends who were in relation to know, that he was not a candidate for the Presidency. He had fought a great battle in Ohio, and was exhausted by his exertions, when the splendid victory was announced and it was very largely his battle and victory.

Mr. Hanna knew he could not endure any more such campaigns. He said in a most pathetic way that he wanted to go to bed and rest and get up no more, for he was so far worn out that he remembered the gift of sleep was to the beloved of God.

On the deathbed of Mr. Hanna, this came not only to his household, to the people of the city of his home, his State, the United States, to the world, for in his latest days he was of universal fame, and was given treasures of affection never to be exceeded in fondness. Just what Mr. Hanna's relations were with the President is shown in the following; and there is nothing sweeter, kinder, more loving, gentle and true in all literature, than this. It is the shining path of a soft and gentle light:

"A few days after Senator Hanna took to his bed, never to leave it alive, President Roosevelt called at the Senator's apartments in the Arlington Hotel to inquire as to his condition and was received by Mrs. Hanna. The President asked solicitously of Mrs. Hanna as to the health of her husband, and Mrs. Hanna informed the President of her husband's real condition.

"Leaving the President in the parlor of the apartments, Mrs. Hanna went to her husband's sick-room and told him that the President had called to inquire about him and to wish for him a sound and quick recovery. Senator Hanna was quite conscious and yet very feeble, but he was greatly pleased at the President's visit and asked his wife to hand him a pad, saying that he wanted to write the President a note. And he did.

“Senator Hanna, in a hand enfeebled by a prostrating illness and yet with a grit which was one of his striking characteristics, wrote: ‘My Dear Mr. President,’ and then, in a few words, informed the President how deeply touched he was that he should call and ask after his health. This little note Mrs. Hanna, on her return to the parlor, handed to the President, who quickly read it and remarked how deeply touched he was himself that Senator Hanna should, from his sick bed, send him such a gentle message. Those were the last lines Senator Hanna ever wrote.

“The glorious speech of Temporary Chairman Root, of the Republican National Convention at Chicago, culminated in the statement of the great works awaiting completion—the mighty achievement that awakens ambition and admiration. There were other eloquent and noble utterances, worthy of the country, but this was the climacteric and conclusion.

“The work is not fully done; policies are not completely wiped out; domestic questions still press continually for solution; other trusts must be regulated; the tariff may presently receive revision, and if so should receive it at the hands of the friends and not the enemies of the protective system; the new Philippine government has only begun to develop its plans for the benefit of that long-neglected country; our flag floats on the isthmus, but the canal is yet to be built; peace does not yet reign on earth, and considerable firmness, backed by strength, is still needful in diplomacy.

“The American people have now to say whether policies shall be reversed, or committed to unfriendly guardians; whether performance, which now proves itself for the benefit and honor of our country, shall be transferred to unknown and perchance to feeble hands.

“Our President has taken the whole people into his confidence. Incapable of deception, he has put aside concealment. Frankly and without reserve he has told them what their government was doing, and the reasons. It is no campaign of appearances upon which we enter, for the people know the good and the bad, the success and failure, to be credited and charged to our account. It is

no campaign of sounding words and specious pretences, for our President has told the people with frankness what he believed and what he intended. He has meant every word he said, and the people have believed every word he said, and with him this convention agrees because every word has been sound Republican doctrine.

"No people can maintain free government who do not in their hearts value the qualities which have made the present President of the United States conspicuous among the men of his time as a type of noble manhood. Come what may here—come what may in November—God grant that those qualities of brave, true manhood shall have honor throughout America, shall be held for an example in every home, and that the youth of generations to come may grow up to feel that it is better than wealth, or office, or power to have the honesty, the purity, and the courage of Theodore Roosevelt."

H. S. Edwards of Macon, Ga., said many handsome things, in a way that was not loud enough for the highly-wrought audience. He happily referred to Roosevelt as the "great son born of the union of the two empire States, and if the iron in a son's nature be derived from him, the gold is coined from the heart of the mother whose lap has cradled him. And, because I believe this, because the lesson at the mother's knee is the seed that sends a stalk toward heaven and opens far up its auxiliary blossoms in the morning light, because the lofty ideals of manhood are rooted deeper than youth, because that a man which instinctively would be has been dreamed for him in advance by the mother, I claim for Georgia the larger share in the man you have chosen for your leader.

"The childhood of the good woman who bore him was cast near where the Atlantic flows in over the marsh and sand. There she first built her a home in the greatness of God. Womanhood found her within the uplifting view of the mountains in a land over which the Almighty inverts a sapphire cup by day and sets his brightest stars on guard by night.

"Of the thousand or more original postoffice appointments in

Georgia, under his administration not one has, within my knowledge, been criticised by even the unfriendly and partisan press of the State. A Southern man, General Wright, by his appointment, holds the honor of this country in trust in the far Philippines, and on him the President relies for the advancement and development of the 7,000,000 people who are there."

With the most remarkable and sudden splendor of eloquence; a voice clear as a bell and as loud as a fog horn, was George C. Knight, of California. He said of Roosevelt:

"Our country is big and broad and grand; we want a President typical of the country, one who will preserve her history, enforce her law, teach Americanism and fight the wrong. Theodore Roosevelt, thou art the man.

"Well may he be proud; he is young, the pride of life is his, and time is on his side; he loves the whole country and knows no favorite section; he has performed the sacred promise; he has kept the faith with McKinley's memory, and now faces the responsibilities of his own. He hypnotizes obstacles, looks them in the eye and overpowers with self-conscious honesty of purpose.

"Dishonesty, cowardice and duplicity are never impulsive; Roosevelt is impulsive; so be it—he is different.

"From a Democratic point of view he is a weird magician of politics. They charged him with disrupting a government on the isthmus, creating a republic and unlawfully conniving at a canal. They awoke one fine morning to find the Republic of Panama an entity, its existence recognized by foreign nations and Congress paying out millions of dollars to ratify his strategic promptness.

"He wanted to give Uncle Sam a job, and he did it; and Uncle Sam wanted the job, and he took it. He belongs to the Union.

"In territory we have outgrown the continent; we are peopling the isles of the sea.

"Thus saith the Lord, a great eagle with great wings, long winged and full of feathers, which had divers colors, came unto Lebanon and took the highest branch of the cedar. He cropped off the top of its young twigs and carried it into the land of traffic; he set it in a city of merchants; he took also of the seed of the

land and planted in a fruitful field; he placed it across great waters and set it as a willow tree.

"How like unto our emblem of freedom he has cropped off the young twigs of our cedar of liberty and carried them across the ocean to the land of traffic and set them in the city of merchants. The seed of our land is there among the fruitful fields, beside the great waters and set as a willow tree."

The administration of Theodore Roosevelt is one of achievement; of national progress, not of national retrogradation; of construction, not destruction, and of accomplishments, not of broken promises. First in this record is the Panama Canal. After years of agitation, vacillation and delay, he took the steps that assured the construction of the great water way which will unite the Atlantic and Pacific. He has made the dream of centuries certain of realization. To him, above all others in the years to come, will be accorded the credit of starting this vast enterprise, with its immeasurable influence upon the development of the world's commerce and upon the United States as a commanding force in the world's affairs.

Without violating our obligations to any nation, with unhesitating decision and splendid courage, he recognized Panama, after Colombia had rejected our generous proposition, and negotiated the treaty which assured the digging of the canal. This great work, achieved as it was, without tarnishing the national honor, would be sufficient to make the Roosevelt administration immortal. But it is only one of a brilliant record that challenges approving admiration.

Roosevelt settled the anthracite coal strike. He brought peace to a disordered region. He saved industry from paralysis. He obviated the grave danger of civil disturbance and of accompanying intense suffering. He stopped the menacing growth of Socialism. This he did, not as President, for his office has no such power, but as the chief citizen of the Republic, whose personal influence was irresistible.

The Roosevelt foreign policy has compelled respect for the American Republic throughout the lands beyond the sea. Without

even rippling the surface of international peace, Roosevelt has made the nations of the earth hearken to the voice of America. Not as a promoter of war, but as a messenger of peace does the administration shine. It has made it certain that China shall be open to the commerce of the world, and it has assured her territorial integrity.

Roosevelt submitted to the Hague Peace Tribunal the vexatious claims against Venezuela, substituted the judicial process for armed force in that great crisis, and made Europe fully recognize the binding force of the Monroe Doctrine. He settled, to our great benefit, the long standing and irritating Alaskan boundary dispute. He has assured the safety of American citizens in every part of the globe, and respect for the flag wherever it floats.

While recognizing the right of labor to combine for its own protection and advancement, he has stood for the right of men to secure employment without interference. He has been the friend of organized labor, but has prevented its rules from superseding the laws of the nation.

He has enforced a high standard of official integrity and efficiency, refusing to allow politics to interfere with the highest official morality. He has raised the standard of official conduct throughout the nation. He has purged the Post Office Department of corruption, and sternly and relentlessly punished the guilty, regardless of political or financial influence.

He has courageously enforced the laws for the regulation of trusts and capitalistic combinations without trespassing upon their inalienable rights. Recognizing that capital must combine for industrial and commercial development, he has forced it to obey the laws. Under him the capitalists have had the same rights as the laborer, but no greater. He is responsible for the laws which expedite the trial of suits involving question of violation of the trust regulatory statutes; for the establishment of the Department of Commerce and Labor, with its authority to compel publicity of the business of corporations engaged in interstate commerce in the interests of the public, but without disclosing trade secrets to their injury, and for the greater power of the interstate commerce

commission to prevent illegal rebates, through which the great trusts have been built up.

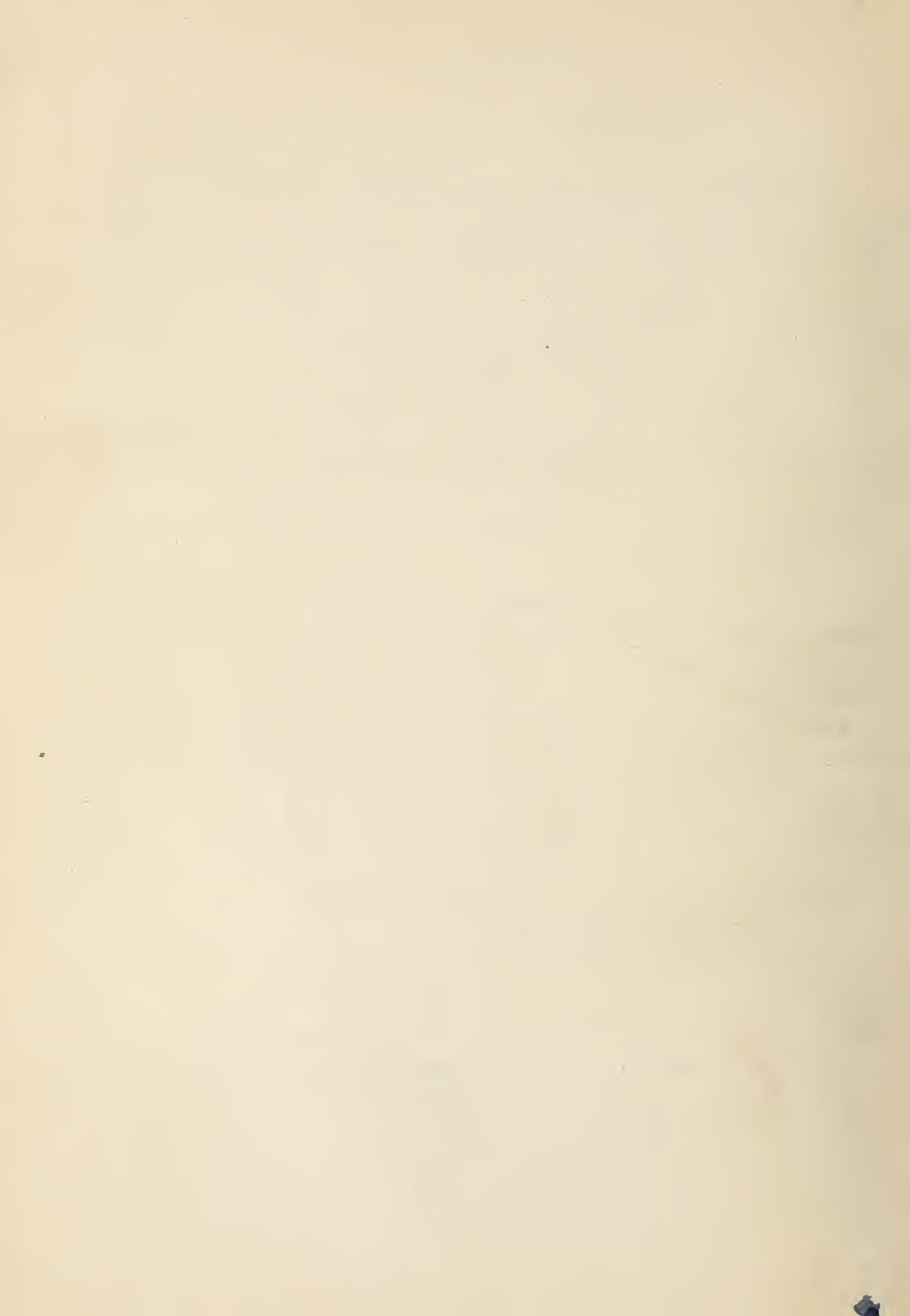
He was the first President to recognize the importance of irrigation in developing the arid West, and making homes for the industrious homeseeker. The irrigation law is a monument to this wise foresight. The laws for the regulation and restriction of immigration have been made more rigorous and have been more effectively enforced under his administration. He is responsible for the prevention of the abuses of the second-class mail regulations, and for the extension of rural free delivery until our whole country is now in daily touch with the world's events.

He fulfilled the McKinley promise that Cuba should be independent. Thanks to his unflagging efforts, commercial reciprocity between Cuba and the United States is enforced, to the lasting benefit of each Republic.

The Philippines have civil government; peace and tranquillity prevail; education is forwarded; the Friar lands have been purchased and are to be opened to the Filipinos; agriculture has been encouraged; millions have been expended for public improvements within the archipelago; the policy of preparing the natives for a greater degree of self-government has been energetically pushed, and the islands are enjoying, as they will forever under the American flag, the blessings of our unselfish and sacrificial labors.

Under him taxation has been reduced, industrial and commercial development has been encouraged, the army has been reorganized, the navy has been enlarged, and the nation has enjoyed peace and prosperity. This, in brief, is the brilliantly successful record of Theodore Roosevelt.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Murat Halstead". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping flourish at the end.



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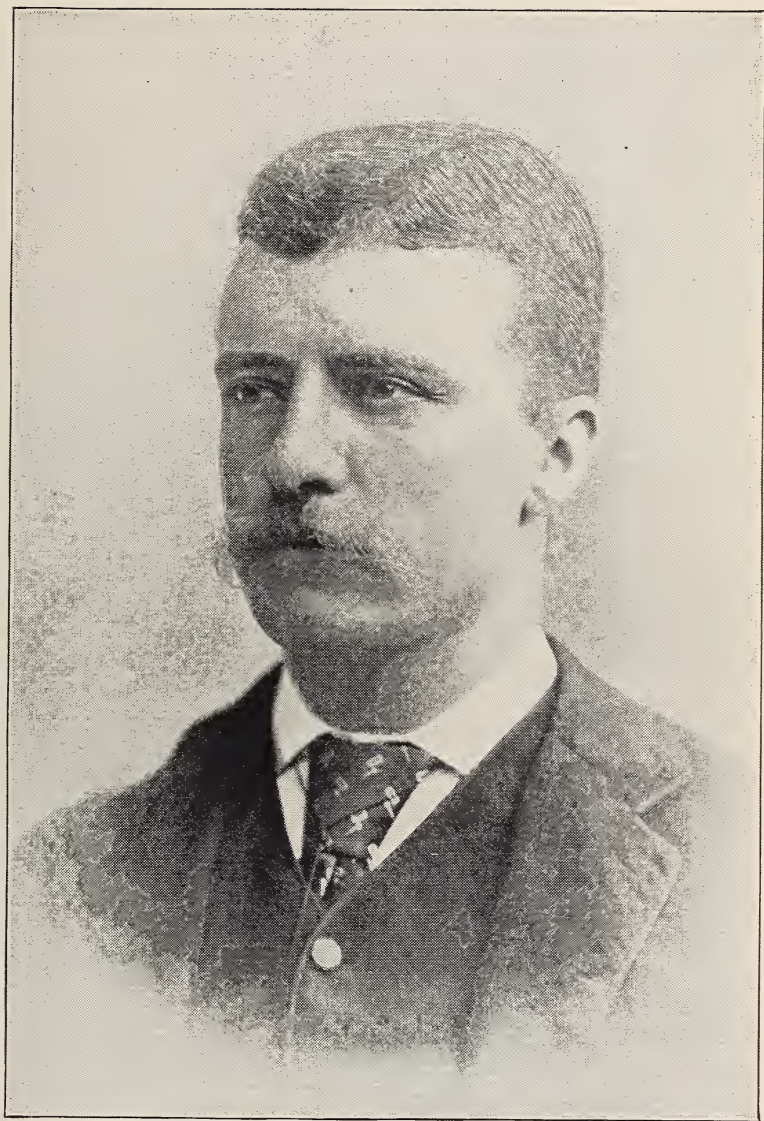
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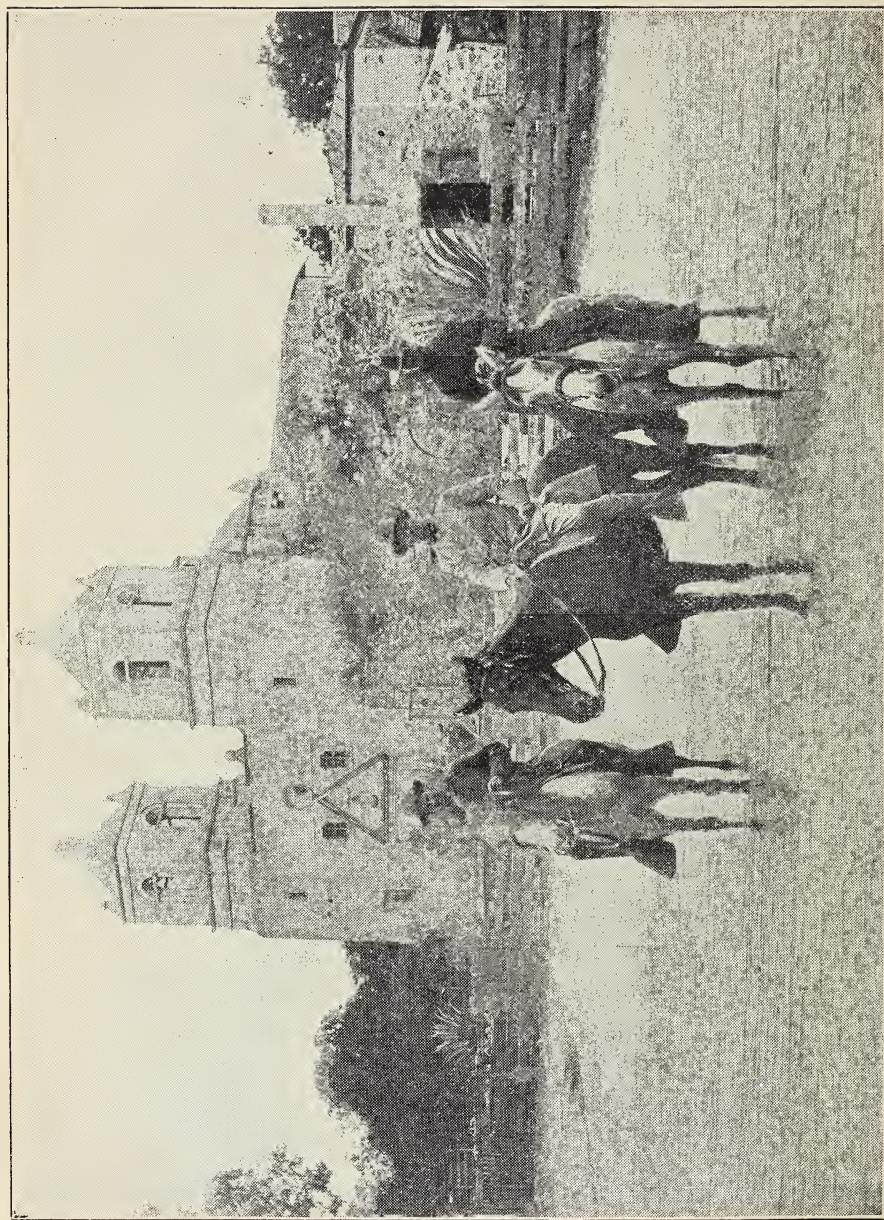
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AS A HUNTER IN HIS YOUNGER DAYS



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AT THE AGE OF THIRTY



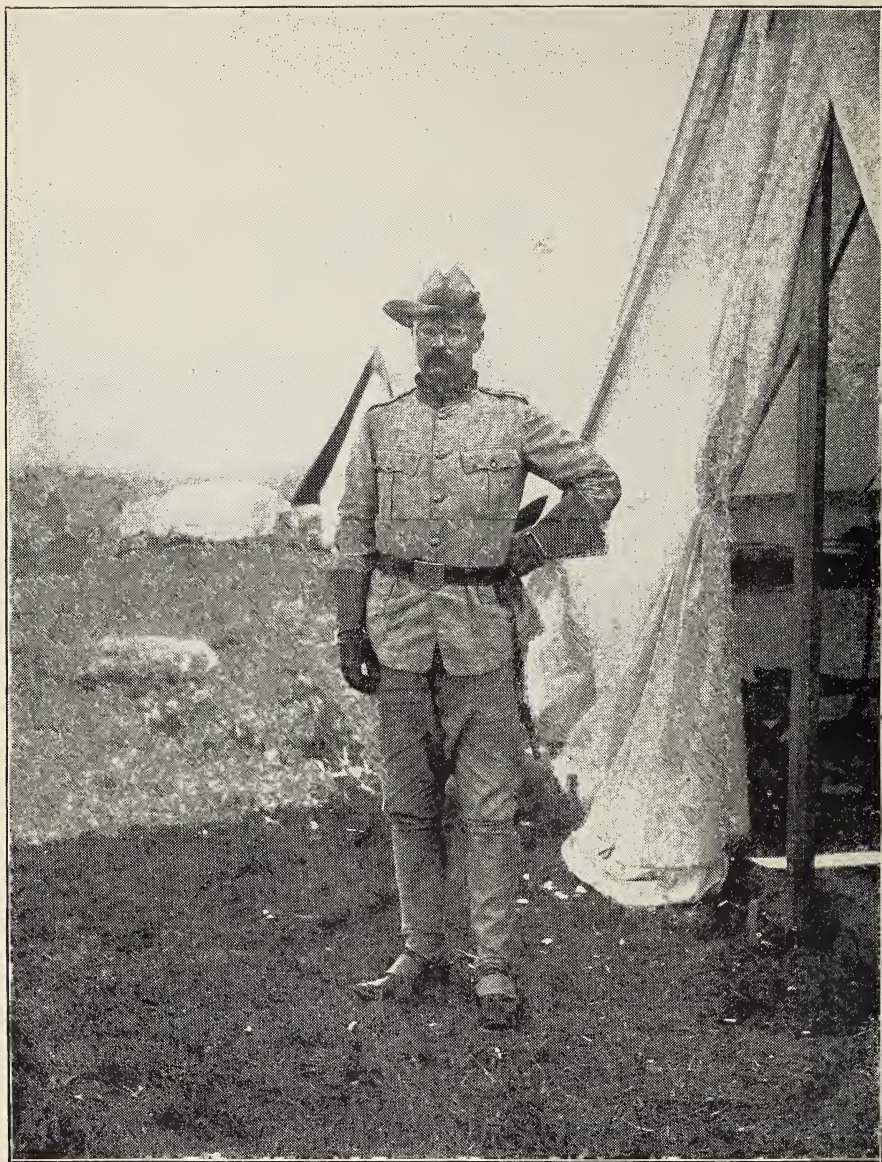
COLONEL ROOSEVELT AND TWO TROOPERS OF THE ROUGH RIDERS
FROM PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN FRONT OF THE OLD SPANISH MISSION "CONCEPTION" AT SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS



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ROUGH RIDERS—COLONEL ROOSEVELT COMMANDER

THIS FAMOUS REGIMENT FOUGHT WITH GREAT BRAVERY IN THE BATTLES AROUND SANTIAGO, JUNE 24TH TO JULY 1ST, 1898



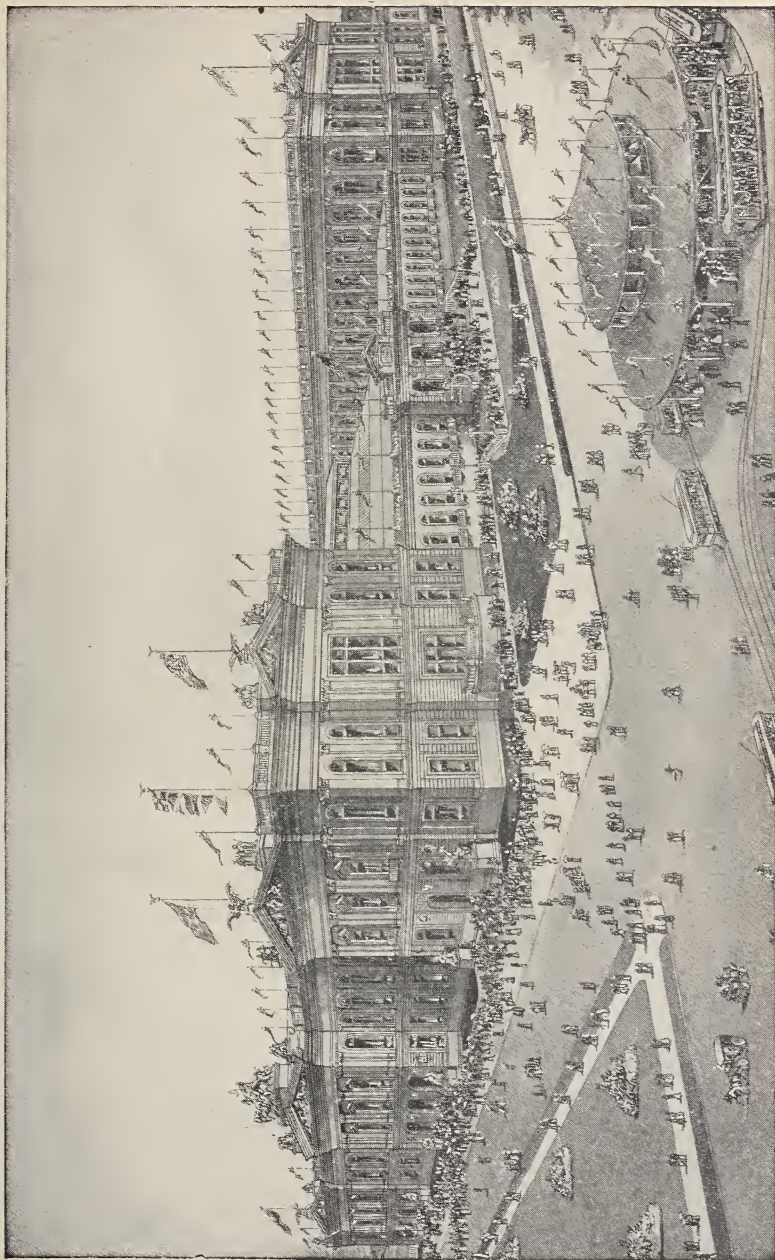
COLONEL ROOSEVELT AT MONTAUK POINT



THE GUBERNATORIAL NOMINATION COMMITTEE, 1899



GROUP OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF 1900.



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA, IN WHICH MR. ROOSEVELT WAS
NOMINATED FOR VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

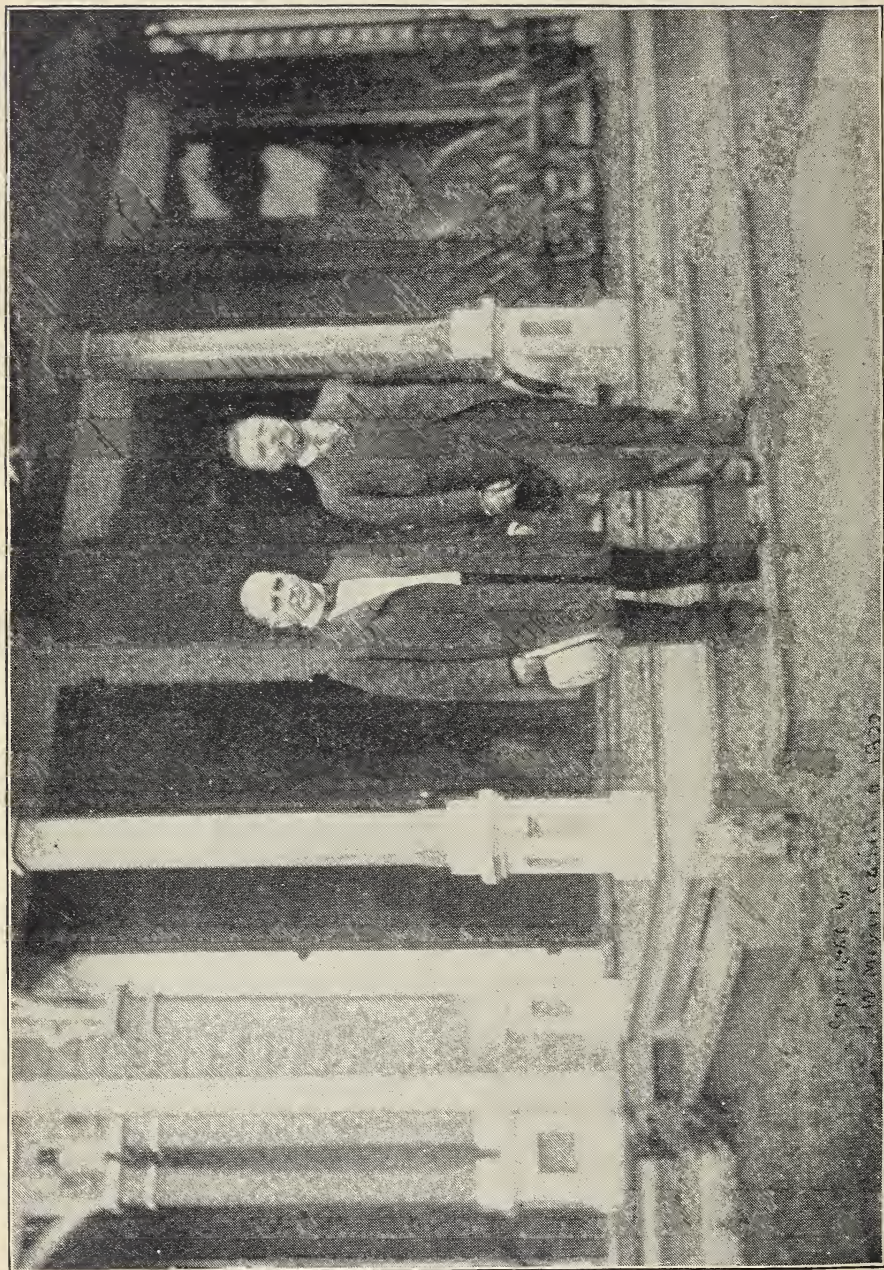


VIEW OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1900 WHICH NOMINATED MCKINLEY AND ROOSEVELT
FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT



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VICE-PRESIDENTIAL NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE, 1901



PRESIDENT MCKINLEY AND VICE PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON THE STEPS OF THE
MCKINLEY RESIDENCE, CANTON, OHIO

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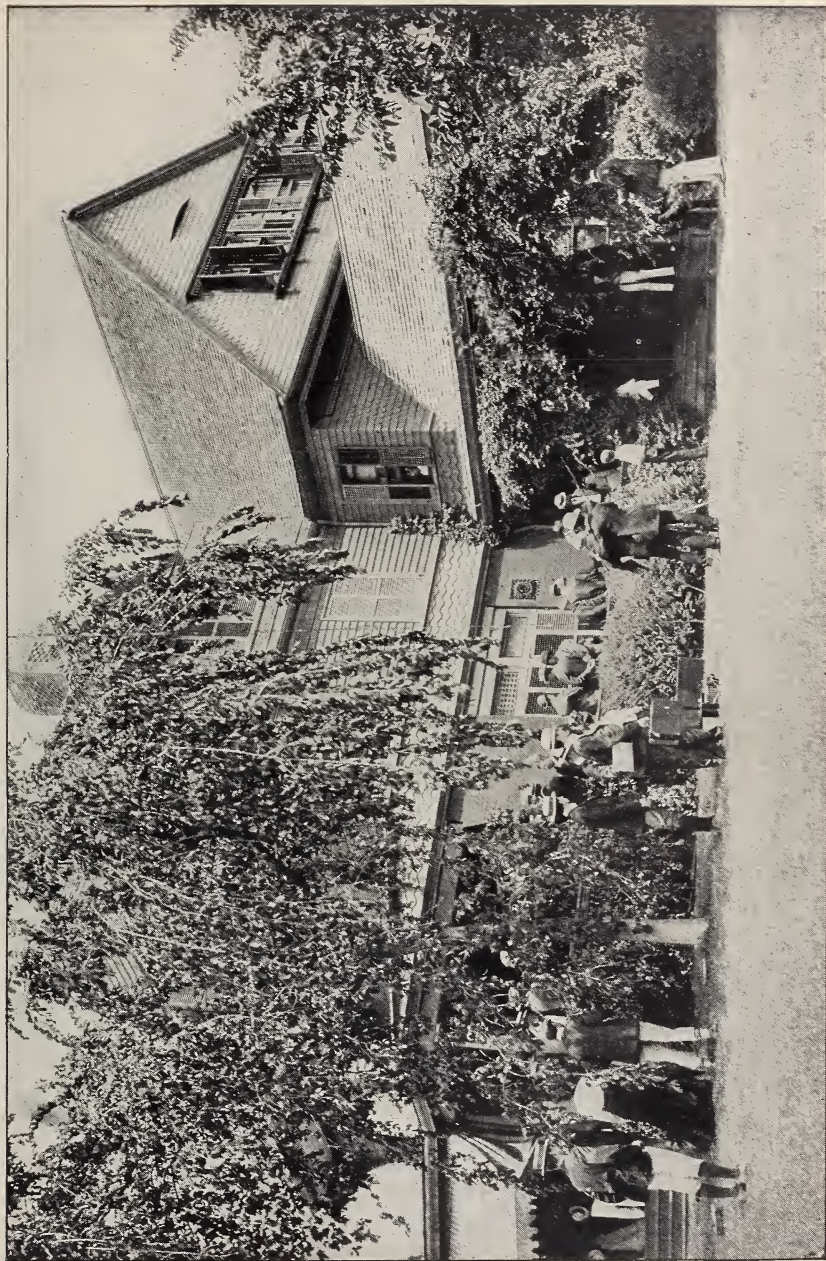
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PRESIDENT MCKINLEY AND VICE-PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT



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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT WRITING HIS LAST MESSAGE IN HIS OFFICE
AT THE WHITE HOUSE



RESIDENCE OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AT OYSTER BAY, L. I.



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT DISCUSSING THE COAL STRIKE WITH THE
OPERATORS AND MINERS' REPRESENTATIVES AT WASHINGTON

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

CHAPTER I.

TRAGEDY THAT MADE MR. ROOSEVELT PRESIDENT—IMPRESSED BY HIS NEW AND GRAVE RESPONSIBILITIES—MAN OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING—GRADUATE OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY—ABILITY FOR GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS—UNDAUNTED BY FAILURE—GIANT IN MENTAL ENDOWMENTS—A MAN OF THE PEOPLE—STURDY COMMON SENSE—HABIT OF SEEKING ADVICE—ARDENT TEMPERAMENT AND TIRELESS WORKER—PHYSICAL FORCE AND ENERGY—HIS INTENSE AMERICANISM—PERSONAL PREFERENCES SACRIFICED TO THE PUBLIC GOOD.

AT the height of his renown and from the pinnacle of his fame, President McKinley fell by the hand of an assassin. It was the third tragedy of its kind in our country's history. The whole civilized world was appalled by the news that the brilliant career of the Chief Executive of the United States had been suddenly ended by the bullet of an anarchist.

Mr. McKinley was admired for his talents ; honored for his patriotism ; beloved for his virtues and those noble traits that adorn the character of the highest type of man. His death came with all the stunning effect of a lightning bolt from a clear sky. No other possible event could have smitten the American people with such consternation, or aroused such irrepressible anger and righteous indignation.

It was in the midst of this overwhelming tragedy and while the nation was bowed with heartfelt grief, displaying on every hand the emblems of universal mourning, that the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt became President of the United States. He took the oath of his office, as it were, in the very chamber of death, and assumed the greatest responsibilities that can fall to any man beside the bier of the illustrious slain.

It was a sudden and most unexpected call to duty. A weak

man would have faltered, but the blow that staggered the nation only aroused all the strength of his character and the nobility of his nature. How admirably, how modestly, how resolutely and with what tact and unflinching courage he addressed himself to the great task thrust so suddenly upon him, is now a matter of history.

He was not elated or rendered self-important by his sudden elevation to power. With becoming gravity and thoughtfulness, with grief for the loss of a personal friend and in sympathy with the sorrow that afflicted the American people, he took upon himself the duties and responsibilities which had been borne so successfully by his predecessor. Small men become inflated with pride when brought into public notice ; they are easily puffed up and have an ever present sense of their own importance. Few men are great enough to rise above themselves. Through the trying ordeal which resulted in elevating Mr. Roosevelt to the presidency he exhibited no sign of vain-glory. His demeanor was such as to convince his countrymen that he would have escaped his new position and its trying demands if he could, but as this could not be done he would show himself to be the hero in peace that he had proved himself to be in war.

HIS MIND WELL TRAINED.

Although comparatively young, being in fact the youngest man who ever occupied the chair of the Chief Executive, it is a fortunate circumstance that Mr. Roosevelt had already shown certain marked characteristics and qualifications that are demanded of the successful statesman and leader.

His mind was well trained. As the young Indian warrior used to be taught to bend his bow and aim his arrow, so discipline affects all the mental powers. From boyhood Mr. Roosevelt had received the advantages of a thorough education. This is the American idea ; boys and girls must attend school ; however poor and humble in life, they may nevertheless obtain a good common-school education. This is their capital and the preliminary of success in any and every pursuit.

Mr. Roosevelt's mental equipment was excellent. A number of our presidents received no education in the higher institutions of learning ; they graduated from the public school into the White House. By their native abilities and force of character they gained the highest position in the gift of the nation. There was nothing lacking in Mr. Roosevelt on the score of mental training. He graduated from Harvard University, and long before he became president displayed unusual intellectual and literary attainments in his published works. His mind was already well drilled.

It has never been even hinted that he was incapable of grasping the great problems of statesmanship ; he has shown a mental acumen such as would be expected only in one of greater maturity and experience. Repeatedly it has been proved that he has tenacity like that of General Grant ; he never gives up a knotty problem. The more difficult it is, the more resolutely does he bend all his energies to the work of solving it. One can well believe that when he was a schoolboy he was not one of those who glance at an example in arithmetic, call it too hard, and give up, almost without an effort, all attempts to master it. Such is not the spirit that achieves great things.

HIS ACTION IN THE GREAT ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE.

During the prolonged coal strike of 1902 Mr. Roosevelt appealed to both operators and strikers to submit their differences to arbitration. He failed. He then appealed to the strikers to go back to work. He failed again. Was he defeated? Was nothing more to be done? Was he ready to quit the field? Most men would have given up in discouragement. The third time he did not fail.

Much has been said, especially by educated young men, about the "scholar in politics." A plea is made for men of ability, men who are educated, men who are capable of mastering public questions and advocating one side or the other with force and effect. It is a plea for statesmanship instead of petty politics. To have matters of vital concern to our entire nation settled by numskulls and ignoramuses is nothing less than absurd. The

republic cannot go on without brains. New York City once sent a man to Congress whose only claim to this distinction was that he was the champion prize fighter and the proprietor of a gambling den.

It may well be questioned whether we have ever had a president who was superior to Mr. Roosevelt in brain power, scholarly attainments and intellectual equipment. He is not likely to reach any such absurd conclusion as that two and two make something besides four. Every paragraph he ever wrote and every speech he ever made tell plainly that he knows how to think. Beside this giant, towering like a Saul among the prophets, how little and insignificant does the whole crowd of gutter politicians appear, who are scrambling for place and power, and whose mental capacity is such as to raise serious doubts whether they did not leave the kindergarten too soon.

SYMPATHY WITH MASSES OF THE PEOPLE.

Mr. Roosevelt's education and scholarly tendencies never placed a gulf between him and plain, common people. He is not mounted on any pedestal. He is so near that he can feel the beat of the public heart. One of the great sources of Mr. Lincoln's popularity was his oneness with plain people, the vast army of toilers who make up the bone and sinew of the nation. In this respect he was not superior to President Roosevelt, who, notwithstanding high birth, college education and elevated rank in the social scale, could shake the grimiest hand of the Rough Riders who followed him through the storm of battle. "Broncho Bill" could go to the White House and feel sure of a welcome as hearty and cordial as would be given to the governor of any State.

One of the first acts of Mr. Roosevelt when he was sworn in as president at Buffalo, where President McKinley was assassinated, was to consult the members of the cabinet who were present and to request the entire cabinet to continue in office. His readiness to seek advice from government officials, members of Congress and citizens of all localities has often been noted. Whether it can be said of him as it was of Napoleon that he consulted

everybody and followed the advice of nobody, or that he is governed by what he considers the wise suggestions of men eminent in the councils of the nation, it is true that no one could be more anxious to obtain opinions on all questions affecting the welfare of the people. He is not so conceited as to claim that there is no party wisdom outside of himself.

Before proposing any important measure to Congress it has been his invariable custom to gather the leaders in both houses of Congress about him and learn their views of the matter in hand, thus exemplifying the old saying that in the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom. No one can claim that he has ever been denied a patient hearing, or that his advice has ever been unheeded unless there was a preponderating weight of evidence against it.

CONCEDES TO ALL THE RIGHT OF OPINION.

On many important measures which were finally recommended for the public good Mr. Roosevelt was compelled to feel his way, and this willingness to submit his propositions to others and elicit opinions even from political opponents, is one of his admirable traits. Having always a mind of his own and standing with the firmness of a Gibraltar when his mind is once made up, he seeks to know the mind of others whose opinions are likely to be of any value.

Nor does he feel affronted when candid men differ from him and he is unable to bring them to his way of thinking. He is not like a petulant schoolboy who is miffed and snappish when he cannot have his own way. He believes there is such a thing as honest disagreement, and that no man should be hung for holding his own opinion. He knows how to be calm and courteous even when assailed by opponents. That historic feud between Blaine and Conkling, which showed the littleness of two great men, never would have taken place if Roosevelt had been either party to the controversy. The differences might have existed, but without discourtesy and painful recriminations.

Henry Ward Beecher once said he never believed in free thought and free speech so ardently for anyone as he did for the

man who disagreed with him. Only a whole-souled, generous nature could say this, and illustrate it in word and deed. He is no ordinary man who can oppose the honest convictions of another, or deny him a request, and yet can retain his confidence and even increase his regard.

One of Mr. Roosevelt's most prominent traits is an ardent temperament which constantly shows itself. He is a worker. He does with his might everything he finds to do. He even plays hard. This is not something acquired; it is his natural disposition. He was born to be up and doing. A lazy man is never heard of in the great realms of human achievement. No monument was ever built to a man who strolled aimlessly through life with his hands in his pockets. The world's workers are the world's benefactors.

Read the thrilling stories of those renowned inventors whose names have added some of the brightest pages to the world's history. Read how Watt, Stevenson, Fulton, Whitney, Morse, Elias Howe, Edison and scores of others have thought, contrived, worked and agonized day and night to bring forth their great discoveries.

MANY GREAT HEROES IN POVERTY.

Some of them were poor; they were not in the habit of having five courses for dinner; more likely they considered a few crusts a kind of fare that was not to be despised. And so poverty has its victories; it impels to labor. The great souls who have led the way to the sublime heights of human achievement were not idle along the road. They illustrated the "strenuous life" long before Roosevelt became an example of it. He is only one of the grand army of workers.

He appears to have such an abundance of physical life and energy that he cannot be anything less than active, the steam always up, the wheels always in motion. In this respect he is peculiarly fortunate. Lack of physical vigor has made many a life a failure, or at least partially so, which otherwise would have been a brilliant success. It is quite the rule that the man of nerve and muscle stands behind the man of thought and action.

Roosevelt's fondness for athletics, for out-door life and wholesome sports, has helped to make him sturdy and strong in body and mind. There can be no reasonable objection to a proper attention being paid to physical sports and pastimes in our institutions of learning; it is the excess, the craze, the mad competition that is to be condemned. Broken bones, cracked skulls and physical injuries are a costly price to pay for a moment's triumph in a desperate game.

At Harvard Mr. Roosevelt was well known as an athlete. He was in quest of health. Not remarkably strong in boyhood, he determined by physical training to grow into a vigorous manhood. He went out on our western plains, adopted the life of a ranchman, became a cowboy and astonished the onlookers by his dash and courage. He had a taste for sport, for hunting and fishing. He has always known how to play, but play was not the end in view. To play would fit him to work; therefore he played. He has been a better official in every office he has ever held because he could ride a mustang and shoot an antelope.

HIS MARKED INDIVIDUALITY.

Looked at from all sides it must be admitted that Mr. Roosevelt is a man of strong individuality. He is not a weakling. He is not an imitator. He has his own way of doing things. Original characters are not apt to be multiplied. There was only one "Old Hickory," only one "Honest Old Abe," and there is only one Roosevelt. McKinley was able, refined, diplomatic, amiable; Roosevelt is frank, outspoken, kind, forceful, and has the qualities which in a general draw the admiration and arouse the enthusiasm of his men.

In the great coal strike of 1902 some self-important newspapers that were in an agony to find something they could criticize, took President Roosevelt to task for going outside of his official duties to settle the controversy and obtain for the people one of the necessities of life. These high and mighty journals would have had him keep his "dignity," even if the people froze to death. They were greatly amazed when they found the whole

country was applauding his action. It was plain that he did not run to the newspapers to learn what was proper for a president. His settlement of the coal strike was one of the proudest victories ever achieved by an American citizen either privately or in an official capacity. Roosevelt did not ask what was dignified, what was proper or what was precedent; he saw a thing that needed to be done, and he did it.

It has often been said that college-bred men never have any common sense. They are entirely unfit for business and ordinary affairs. They can translate the charming lines of Virgil; they can decipher the hieroglyphics on ancient tablets; they can ply a man with metaphysics until he is dizzy, but they cannot manage a grocery. They need some one to look after them and see that they do not fall into the fire. Such is the prevalent opinion of college graduates. It is said that to know books is to know nothing else.

INCOMPETENCY OF MANY COLLEGE GRADUATES.

I shall not altogether deny the statement that college graduates are not practical men. There is many a newsboy on the streets a dozen years old who is sharper than almost any one of them. But a man to whom common sense is a native attribute does not necessarily sacrifice it by learning Greek or political economy. If Mr. Roosevelt had never taken a college degree it is probable that he never would have been suspected of lacking in practical common sense. We submit that superior education should not be taken as evidence that he knows little or nothing of ordinary affairs.

That he has a remarkable faculty of adapting himself to circumstances and all the requirements of everyday life must be admitted. He can talk to farmers, to cowboys, to miners, to professional men, to scholars and statesmen, and have something to say of interest and suited to the occasion. And what he says is always practical and right to the point.

It cannot be said of him as the old lady said after hearing a high-flown sermon, "Perhaps the man knew what he was talking about, but nobody else did." A man who once heard Mr. Roose-

velt talk to a company of farmers in Maine said one would have thought he had been a farmer all his life. Some one remarked of Wendell Phillips, "He has been called an orator, but I should rather say he is a gentleman talking." Although not an orator, as that term is commonly understood, and likewise perverted, Mr. Roosevelt is a straightforward, forcible talker, and it may well be questioned whether this is not the highest type of oratory.

Sincerity of heart and downright honesty in every word and deed has contributed much to give him the strong position he holds in the respect and affection of the people. To accuse him of acting a double part, of being a trickster, or of doing anything for effect or to secure any selfish advantage, would be resented by all who know him. He may be wrong, but he means to be right, and his honest purpose is to do what is right and let the consequences take care of themselves. The reputation of such a man is always safe. In the long run the judgment of the masses is sure to be correct. An honest man does not need to sit up nights to guard his reputation.

A THOROUGH AMERICAN.

It will doubtless be conceded that the one trait which most distinguishes Mr. Roosevelt is his intense Americanism. He is an outgrowth of American institutions. The materials that have given a unique character to our people, and made them unlike the people of any other nation, have gone into his personality. The great apostle Paul could say he was a Hebrew of the Hebrews; of Mr. Roosevelt it may be said that he is an American of the Americans.

It is his firm belief that, taking the earliest records of history and coming down to the present time, no builders of nations ever did a grander work than those heroic men who laid the foundations of this republic. All that is needed is that we and those who shall come after us shall be true to their noble ideals, and shall sacredly preserve the principles of civil and religious liberty which they wrote out in blood before the eyes of mankind. Whatever is distinctive in our national life and institutions—

whatever has contributed to give glory to our name and history—whatever has made us a power to be respected and honored by all the peoples of the world, must be preserved and cherished.

Such a heritage of immortal principles proclaimed by the heroes of the Revolution and defended with the sword, should awaken the lawful pride of every American. Our nation is not to be satisfied with its natural resources. It has a grander mission than to make money and spend its energies in a mad chase for the almighty dollar. We are to stand in the forefront of all that goes to make up the highest type of civilization. Armies, navies, gigantic combinations of capital, labor unions, the activities that build railroads, dig canals, send ships across the sea like flying shuttles, weaving continents together, all these should have for their ultimate aim and object the elevation of man and his highest welfare.

OUR COUNTRY'S GRAND MISSION.

This view of our government and the policies it ought to enact has found in Mr. Roosevelt a consistent and eloquent advocate. He believes in America, but it must be an America that has a nobler mission than ever fell to the lot of any other nation. Government is something more than a vast agency for parcelling out offices. The influence of our country should be felt throughout the earth. We are not to be isolated and confined to one hemisphere. America is to stand for justice, righteousness, liberty, and the well-being of universal humanity. We can make better islands of the Philippines than they ever were, but if we could not we might better let them alone.

Mr. Roosevelt believes we have a country worth fighting for if fighting is unavoidable. When war broke out between our country and Spain he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy in President McKinley's cabinet. He wrote the order that sent Admiral Dewey to Manila with instructions to capture and destroy the Spanish fleet. Then he resigned his position in the cabinet and was next seen in the uniform of a Rough Rider charging up the heights of San Juan.

With splendid dash and courage he acted his part in every engagement. His men said he was a born fighter. His superior officers singled him out for special commendation. He was many men in one. He wanted the brave fellows who followed him to have the glory, and applauded every deed of valor. The welfare of his command was one of his chief concerns and he indignantly protested against any acts in the conduct of the campaign that inflicted unnecessary hardships and sufferings upon his regiment.

A PATRIOT OF THE REVOLUTION.

It is the disposition of a true patriot to sink personal preferences when confronted with public duty. There must be no parleying, no holding back, no reckoning of consequences. All personal interests must be ignored and set aside when the public good is at stake. Of what account to "Old Put" were his plow and team when the ominous news of battle stirred his patriotic soul? He left plow, horses, home, everything, and the next seen of him his burly form was looming through the smoke of Bunker Hill. Long before this Putnam had had enough of war. He had fought in the French and Indian campaign. Once he was captured by the Indians, tied to the stake to be burned and his life was saved only by the timely arrival of a French officer who would not permit such an act of barbarity. He was content to till his fields in peace.

But Putnam was a patriot. The call to duty came. The question then was not what he wished, but what his country wanted. I instance him as one among a host of others that might be named who showed the spirit of the true patriot. Mr. Roosevelt believed that his country needed him. Personal considerations were not for a moment thought of, and, forsaking office, home and family, ease and safety, he jumped into the saddle and was "off to the war."

A man who is willing to die for his country should be willing to live for it. If he is patriotic enough to serve the nation in war he should be willing to serve the nation in peace. Tried by such a standard as this it will be seen that Mr. Roosevelt has never

been found wanting. One event in his career is all that needs to be mentioned.

The republican national convention which was held in Philadelphia in 1900 urged him to take the nomination for the Vice-Presidency. He did not wish the nomination and said so. He was then Governor of New York and felt that he could best promote the public good by continuing to carry on the work of reform in that great State. He did not believe his usefulness would be increased by being transferred from the head of the Empire State to the head of the United States Senate. He was willing to fill the full term of the office of governor, and then seek a re-election. He distinctly stated that his influence would be diminished if chosen Vice-President and strongly protested against the nomination.

NOMINATION THRUST ON HIM.

But the leaders of his party thought differently. They knew the wonderful hold he had upon all classes of people, and believing his name on the ticket would be a tower of strength second only to that of McKinley himself, they literally thrust the nomination upon him. The republican leaders were nervous; they did not know what opposition might develop during the campaign, and resolved to put the strongest possible ticket into the field.

What was the result? The personal Roosevelt disappeared; the patriot Roosevelt stepped to the front. He reversed his own judgment, sacrificed his personal preferences, threw himself out of the account and accepted a nomination which he had stoutly declined, all because it was the opinion of the political leaders that by so doing he could best serve the people of the country.

In the light of subsequent events it was extremely fortunate for the nation that he yielded his own wishes at this time. It has been asserted repeatedly that the motives which actuated the party managers were not altogether disinterested. Roosevelt as governor was not a boy that had no mind or will of his own. He was not the tool of politicians and bosses. Whenever he took a posi-

tion that he felt convinced was right, he "stood by his guns." Nothing could move him. He was a most awkward kind of governor to have, for he never would consult party expediency and went thundering on, reforming abuses, advocating new measures, and was not willing that anyone else should be governor so long as he held that responsible office.

Yet whatever may have been the motives that led up to his nomination, the convention was "building better than it knew."

It did not foresee that McKinley was to be the victim of infernal anarchy, and a man of proportions equally grand and commanding would be needed in his place. The action of the convention was nothing less than providential.

SUCCESSOR TO A NOBLE PRESIDENT.

William McKinley was one of our great presidents, and holds a very eminent place in the long line of remarkable men who have filled the chair of Chief Executive. He was not a Washington, or a Jefferson, or a Lincoln, or a Grant. With equal truth it may be said that none of these men was a McKinley. Each had his mission and work, and no president we ever had discharged his duties more ably, or with higher purpose and patriotism, than did the great man whose tragic death sent consternation and sorrow through the land on that ever to be remembered September day in 1901.

Suddenly elevated to the high office that had been held by such a man, and administered in a manner so masterly as to secure the confidence and admiration of the whole country, the first question concerning Mr. Roosevelt was whether he would prove equal to the emergency. The wiseacres shook their heads. He was young; he was hot-headed; he was impulsive; he was not diplomatic; he was stubborn; he was a fighter; he was a Rough Rider.

Still there were those who knew the calibre of the man; his commanding ability; his lofty ideals; his sturdy common sense, who predicted that one of the grandest men our country had ever produced, being now at the head of affairs, would make one of

the most illustrious presidents. It was not long before all misgivings vanished, and it was admitted that one of the wisest, strongest, safest, most statesmanlike of all our chief executives, was guiding the ship of state.

WOULD RATHER BE RIGHT THAN PRESIDENT.

As Henry Clay once said he would rather be right than to be President, so Mr. Roosevelt has done what conscience and public duty demanded, and without any regard to his own political chances. Acting upon this principle, his fate need not concern him. He is content to do what is demanded by the broadest statesmanship and the loftiest patriotism. What the present hour, the present exigency calls for, is done without hesitation or questioning; it will stand the test of criticism to-morrow. Better a thousand times that men and parties should perish than the people should be robbed of any right or privilege that is justly their own.

Presidents die, but our government continues with unimpaired vitality. Stocks fall, but values remain. The government of this Republic is based on the bedrock of the Constitution, and has in it, we fondly hope, the principle of immortality. A stricken nation wept for its beloved President, William McKinley, but its grief had in it no element of serious doubt or apprehension for the future. There was no interregnum. Theodore Roosevelt became President of the United States.

In the language of President McKinley, in one of his public addresses, "The structure of the fathers stands secure upon the foundations on which they raised it, and is to-day, as it has been in the years past, and as it will be in the years to come, the Government of the people, by the people, for the people. Be not disturbed. There is no fear for the Republic."

CHAPTER II.

ROOSEVELT'S BIRTH AND EDUCATION.

EIGHT GENERATIONS OF KNICKERBOCKERS — QUALITY OF THE ROOSEVELT STOCK—A PALE AND DELICATE BOY—FISHING ON A STEAMSHIP—PREPARING FOR COLLEGE—AMUSING INCIDENT AT THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL — FOND OF WRESTLING AND BOXING—CAREER AT HARVARD—AN ORIGINAL CHARACTER—PARTIALITY FOR NATURAL HISTORY—MEMBER OF MANY CLUBS—HIS IDEA OF A GOOD CITIZEN—ROOSEVELT'S GRADUATION AND TRIP TO EUROPE.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT was born in New York city on October 27, 1858, and comes from a family that for generations has been noted for wealth, social position, high intelligence, disinterested public spirit, general usefulness and philanthropy. The list of his ancestors includes many who were distinguished in public life, and were honored for their sterling qualities.

He is a Knickerbocker of the Knickerbockers, being seventh in descent from Klaas Martensen van Roosevelt, who, with his wife, Jannetje Samuels-Thomas, emigrated from the Netherlands to New Amsterdam in 1649, and became one of the most prominent and prosperous burghers of that settlement. For two and a half centuries the descendants of this couple have flourished in and near the city of New York, maintaining unimpaired the high social standing assumed at the beginning, and by thrift, industry and enterprise adding materially to the wealth acquired by inheritance. With the special opportunities for distinction afforded by the Revolution, a number of them came into marked prominence.

Just previous to that struggle, and during its earlier years, Isaac Roosevelt was a member of the New York Provincial Congress. Later he sat in the State Legislature, and for several years was a member of the New York City Council. For quite a long period he was President of the Bank of New York. Jacobus

J. Roosevelt, great-grandfather of the subject of this sketch, who was born in 1759, gave his services without compensation as commissary during the War for Independence. A brother of this Revolutionary patriot, Nicolas J. Roosevelt, born in New York city in 1767, was an inventor of ability, and an associate of Robert L. Livingston, John Stevens and Robert Fulton in developing the steamboat and steam navigation.

The grandfather of Governor Roosevelt, Cornelius van Shaick Roosevelt, born in New York city in 1794, was an importer of hardware and plate glass, and one of the five richest men in the town. He was one of the founders of the Chemical Bank. One of his brothers, James J. Roosevelt, was a warm friend and ardent supporter of Andrew Jackson; served in the New York Legislature and in Congress, and was a Justice of the Supreme Court of New York from 1851 to 1859.

A DISTINGUISHED FAMILY.

A cousin, James Henry Roosevelt, was distinguished for his philanthropies, and left an estate of a million dollars, which, by good management, was doubled in value, to found the famous Roosevelt Hospital in New York city. Cornelius V. S. Roosevelt married Mary Barnhill, of Philadelphia. Of their six sons the Hon. Robert B. Roosevelt was one of New York's most distinguished citizens, served in Congress and also as a United States Minister to the Netherlands.

Theodore, another son, born in New York city, and deceased in 1878, was the father of President Theodore Roosevelt. He married Martha Bulloch, who, with four of their children, survived him. Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., continued in the business founded by his father, and became a controlling factor in the plate glass trade. He greatly augmented the family fortune, and at his death was reputed a millionaire.

Thus President Roosevelt comes from a distinguished family. Good stock may turn out to be poor sometimes, but it makes a vast difference as to the kind of blood a man has in his veins, and good stock is much more likely to turn out well than stock of the

opposite kind. It meant something to be a Roosevelt. More was expected of every member of the family than would have been expected of anyone with a name less honorable. It was some advantage, and at the same time it involved a good deal of responsibility, to be connected by blood and birth with an old Knickerbocker family that had helped for generations to make the history of New York.

It was the Roosevelt idea that a boy should be taught to run alone, be independent, be something more than a pampered weakling. Money was intended to help a young man, not to handicap him. Young Theodore might have lived on his fortune and made his life one of sport and pleasure, but to do this he would have had to be something besides a Roosevelt. Such an aimless, empty, worthless career would have been contrary to all the Roosevelt family history and achievements. There is no good reason why the self-made men should all be poor. It is possible to become great in spite of money.

HIS APPEARANCE WHEN A BOY.

Mr. Ray S. Baker, in a sketch of Mr. Roosevelt, says this of his boyhood: "As a young boy he was thin-shanked, pale and delicate, giving little promise of the amazing vigor of his later life. To avoid the rough treatment of the public school, he was tutored at home, also attending a private school for a time—Cutler's, one of the most famous of its day. Most of his summers, and in fact two-thirds of the year, he spent at the Roosevelt farm near Oyster Bay, then almost as distant in time from New York as the Adirondacks now are. For many years he was slow to learn and not strong enough to join in the play of other boys; but as he grew older he saw that if he ever amounted to anything he must acquire vigor of body. With characteristic energy he set about developing himself. He swam, he rode, he ran; he tramped the hills back of the bay, for pastime studying and cataloguing the birds native to his neighborhood; and thus he laid the foundation of that incomparable physical vigor from which rose his future prowess as a ranchman and hunter."

At the age of eleven years, young Roosevelt made a voyage across the Atlantic with his father. A boyhood friend, by name George Cromwell, tells several amusing incidents of the European voyage. It was a great event in 1869 to cross the Atlantic, particularly for youngsters, all of them under eleven years of age.

"As I remember Theodore," recalls Mr. Cromwell, "he was a tall, thin lad, with bright eyes and legs like pipe-stems.

"One of the first things I remember about him on that voyage was, that after the ship had got out of sight of land he remarked, half to himself, as he glanced at the water, 'I guess there ought to be a good many fish here.' Then an idea suddenly struck him, and turning to me he said: 'George, go get me a small rope from somewhere, and we'll play a fishing game.' I don't know why I went at once in search of that line, without asking why he didn't go himself; but I went, and it never occurred to me to put the question. He had told me to go, and in such a determined way that it settled the matter.

A MASTERLY LEADER FROM BOYHOOD.

"Even then he was a leader—a masterful, commanding little fellow—who seemed to have a peculiar quality of his own of making his playmates obey him, not at all because we were afraid, but because we wanted to, and somehow felt sure we would have a good time and get lots of fun if we did as he said.

"Well, I went after the line and brought it to him. While I was gone on the errand he had thought out all the details of the fishing game, and had climbed on top of a coiled cable; for, of course, he was to be the fisherman.

"'Now,' he said, as I handed him the line, 'all you fellows lie down flat on the deck here, and make believe to swim around like fishes. I'll throw one end of the line down to you, and the first fellow that catches hold of it is a fish that has bit my hook. He must just pull as hard as he can, and if he pulls me down off this coil of rope, why, then he will be the fisherman and I will be a fish. But if he lets go, or if I pull him up here off the deck, why I will still be the fisherman. The game is to see how

many fish each of us can land up here. The one who catches the most fish wins.'

"The rest of us lay down flat on our stomachs," Mr. Cromwell says, in continuation of his narrative, "and made believe to swim; and Theodore, standing above us on the coiled cable, threw down one end of his line—a thin but strong rope. If I remember correctly, my brother was the first fish to grasp the line—and then commenced a mighty struggle. It seemed to be much easier for the fish to pull the fisherman down than for the fisherman to haul up the dead weight of a pretty heavy boy lying flat on the deck below him—and I tell you it was a pretty hard struggle. My brother held on to the line with both hands and wrapped his legs around it, grapevine fashion. Theodore braced his feet on the coiled cable, stiffened his back, shut his teeth hard, and wound his end of the line around his waist. At first he tried by sheer muscle to pull the fish up—but he soon found it was hard work to lift up a boy about as heavy as himself.

THE FISH CAUGHT BY STRATEGY.

"Then another bright idea struck him. He pulled less and less, and at last ceased trying to pull at all. Of course the fish thought the fisherman was tired out, and he commenced to pull, hoping to get Theodore down on deck. He didn't succeed at first, and pulled all the harder. He rolled over on his back, then on his side, then sat up, all the time pulling and twisting and yanking at the line in every possible way; and that was just what Theodore hoped the fish would do. You see, all this time, while my brother was using his strength, Theodore simply stood still, braced like steel, and let him tire himself out.

"Before very long the fish was so out of breath that he couldn't pull any longer. Besides, the thin rope had cut his hands and made them sore. Then the fisherman commenced slowly and steadily to pull on the line, and in a very few minutes he had my brother hauled up alongside of him on the coil of cable."

The elder Roosevelt was a firm believer in hard work, and made this a part of the science he knew so well—the science of

bringing up a boy. Although a man of wealth and position he taught his children—the four of them, two boys and two girls—the virtue of labor, and pointed with the finger of scorn to the despicable thing called man who lived in idleness. With such teachings at home, it is no wonder that Theodore was moved to declare:

“I was determined as a boy to make a man of myself.”

His vacation days and little outing excursions to the farms of his uncles gave the boy a fondness for country life, which found appreciation in later years in these words:

“I belong as much to the country as to the city, I owe all my vigor to the country.”

RESOLVED TO MAKE SOMETHING OF HIMSELF.

In New York he was an example of the strong-spirited, well-educated young Knickerbocker of the better class. “He had no need to work,” says a writer in McClure’s. “His income was ample to keep him in comfort, even luxury, all his life. He might spend his summers in Newport and his winters on the continent, and possibly win some fame as an amateur athlete and a society man; and no one would think of blaming him, nor of asking more than he gave.”

Such a life, however, was not according to his taste or the high ideal of manhood and splendid achievement he had placed before him. He was not a dreamer, not a builder of air-castles. Better than the moderate wealth he had inherited were the family traits, the strong common sense, the noble purposes and true ideas of worldly success, which were as much a part of him as his fondness for fun and athletic sports. Let every American boy remember Mr. Roosevelt’s saying that in early life he resolved to make something of himself.

He attended a preparatory school, in order to fit himself for entering Harvard College. It was customary with the teacher in this school to call on the boys for declamations. Theodore at that early period lacked many of the graces of oratory, which he seems to have acquired afterward; and, like most boys, when he was the victim of embarrassment his memory was more or less treacherous.

Upon one occasion he was called upon to recite the poem beginning :

“At midnight, in his guarded tent
The Turk lay dreaming of the hour
When Greece, her knee in suppliance bent,
Would tremble at his power.”

Theodore arose and started out bravely. With all the flourishes of boyish energy he repeated the lines as far as “When Greece, her knee——” and then he stopped.

He stammered, shuffled his feet, and began again : “When Greece, her knee——” The old schoolmaster leaned forward, and in a shrill voice said : “Grease 'em again, Teddy, and maybe it will go then.” And Teddy, with his usual pluck, tried it again with marked success.

“What strong direction did your home influence take in your boyhood?” was asked Mr. Roosevelt.

“Why,” he replied, “I was brought up with the constant injunction to be active and industrious. My father—all my people—held that no one had a right to merely cumber the earth; that the most contemptible of created beings is the man who does nothing. I imbibed the idea that I must work hard, whether at making money or whatever else.

TAUGHT THAT HE MUST BE A WORKER.

“The whole family training taught me that I must be doing, must be working—and at decent work. I made my health what it is. I determined to be strong and well, and did everything to make myself so. By the time I entered Harvard College I was able to take my part in whatever sports I liked. I wrestled and sparred and ran a great deal while in college, and though I never came in first I got more good of the exercise than those who did, because I immensely enjoyed it and never injured myself.

“I was fond of wrestling and boxing; I think I was a good deal of a wrestler, and, though I never won a championship, yet more than once I won my trial heats and got into the final round. I was captain of my polo team at one time, but since I left college

I have taken most of my exercise in the 'cow country' or mountain hunting."

Theodore Roosevelt is the third graduate of Harvard University to hold the highest honor in the gift of the American people. John Adams and John Quincy Adams were graduated from Harvard. It was in 1825 when J. Q. Adams became President. Now comes Roosevelt. Roosevelt entered Harvard in 1876, when he was eighteen years old. His work in college was characterized by the enthusiasm and earnestness which have become known to all the people as dominant traits of his character in public life.

When he came to the Cambridge college he was a slight lad and not in robust health, but he at once took a judicious and regular interest in athletics, and in a little while the effects were apparent in his stalwart figure and redoubled energy. He wrestled and sparred and ran a great deal, but never indulging in athletic work to the point of injury.

EARNEST AND MATURE STUDENT.

In his studies young Roosevelt was looked upon "as peculiarly earnest and mature in the way he took hold of things," as one of his classmates put it. Ex-Mayor Josiah Quincy, of Boston, who was in college with Roosevelt, says of him:

"He exhibited in his college days most of the traits of character which he has shown in after years and on the larger stage of political life. In appearance and manner he has changed remarkably little in twenty years, and I should say that his leading characteristic in college was the very quality of strenuousness which is now so associated with his public character. In whatever he did he showed unusual energy, and the same aggressive earnestness which has carried so far in later life.

"He exhibited a maturity of character, if not of intellectual development, greater than that of most of his classmates, and was looked upon as one of the notable members of the class—as one who possessed certain qualities of leadership and of popularity which might carry him far in the days to come, if not counter-

balanced by impulsiveness in action or obstinacy in adhering to his own ideas. He was certainly regarded as a man of unusually good fighting qualities, of determination, pluck and tenacity.

"If his classmates had been asked in their senior year to pick out the one member of the class who would be best adapted for such a service which he rendered with the Rough Riders in Cuba I think that, almost with one voice, they would have named Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt is in many respects as broad and typical an American as the country has produced."

ORIGINAL AND SELF-RELIANT.

Both his fellows and his teachers say that he was much above the average as a student. He was just as original, just as reliant on his own judgment as he is now. In a mere matter of opinion or of dogma he had no respect for an instructor's say-so above his own convictions, and some of his contemporaries in college recall with smiles some very strenuous discussions with teachers in which he was involved by his habit of defending his own convictions.

At graduation he was one of the comparatively few who took honors, his subject being natural history. When young Roosevelt entered college he developed the taste for hunting and natural history which has since led him so often and so far through field and forest. His rifle and his hunting kit were the most conspicuous things in his room. His birds he mounted himself.

Live turtles and insects were always to be found in his study, and one who lived in the house with him at the time recalls well the excitement caused by a particularly large turtle sent by a friend from the southern seas, which got out of its box one night and started for the bathroom in search for water. Although well toward the top as a student he still had his full share of the gay rout that whiles dull care away. In his sophomore year he was one of the forty men in his class who belong to the Institute of 1770.

In his senior year he was a member of the Porcelain, the Alpha Delta Phi, and the Hasty Pudding Clubs, being secretary of the last named. In the society of Boston he was often seen.

Roosevelt's membership in clubs other than social shows

conspicuously the kind of college man he was. In rowing, base-ball and foot-ball he was an earnest champion, but never a prominent participant. In the other athletic contests he was often seen. It was as a boxer that he excelled. Boxing was a regular feature of the Harvard contests of that day, and "Teddy," as he was universally called, was the winner of many a bout.

He had his share in college journalism. During his senior year he was one of the editors of the "Advocate." Unlike the other editors, he was not himself a frequent contributor.

The range of his interests is shown by this enumeration of clubs in which he had membership. The Natural History Society, of which he was vice-president; the Art Club, of which Professor Charles Eliot Norton was the president; the Finance Club, the Glee Club (associate member), the Harvard Rifle Corps, the O. K. Society, of which he was treasurer, and the Harvard Athletic Association, of which he was steward.

HIS APPEARANCE AT GRADUATION.

Roosevelt's share of class-day honors was membership in the class committee. All who knew Roosevelt in his college days speak of him as dashing and picturesque in his ways and handsome appearance. His photograph, taken at graduation, shows no moustache, but a rather generous allowance of side whiskers.

Although he was near-sighted, and wore glasses at the time, they do not appear in the photograph. Maturity and sobriety are the most evident characteristics of the countenance. A companion of student days tells a story to show that the future President did things then much as he does them now. A horse in a stable close to Roosevelt's room made a sudden noise one night which demanded instant attention. Young Roosevelt was in bed at the time, but he waited not for daytime clothes—nor did he even wait to get down the steps. He bounded out the second-story window, and had quieted the row before the less impetuous neighbors arrived.

It was while in college that he conceived the idea of his history of the American Navy in the War of 1812. This volume

was written soon after leaving college. He was not yet twenty-four when it was completed. In view of the position which the author afterward held, next to the head of the American Navy, the preface, written before the beginning of our present navy, is of striking interest. He says: "At present people are beginning to realize that it is folly for the great English-speaking republic to rely for defense upon a navy composed partly of antiquated hulks and partly of new vessels rather more worthless than the old."

IDEAS OF PUBLIC LIFE AND CITIZENSHIP.

Mr. Roosevelt's ideas of college education, and the results thereof in the making of good citizens, are well defined in his admirable essay on "College and Public Life," written for the *Atlantic Monthly*, in which he says: "The first great question which the college graduate should learn, is the lesson of work rather than of criticism. College men must learn to be as practical in politics as they would be in business or in law. A college man is peculiarly bound to keep a high ideal and to be true to it; but he must work in practical ways to try to realize this ideal, and must not refuse to do anything because he cannot get anything. No man ever learned from books how to manage a governmental system." Yet he never disparaged book knowledge.

He says further:

"This obligation (of being good, active citizens) possibly rests even more heavily upon men of means; of this it is not necessary now to speak. The men of mere wealth never can have, and never should have, the capacity for doing good work that is possessed by the men of exceptional mental training; but that they may become both a laughing stock and a menace to the community is made unpleasantly apparent by that portion of the New York business and social world which is most in evidence in the papers.

"Wrongs should be strenuously and fearlessly denounced; evil principles and evil men should be condemned. The politician who cheats or swindles, or the newspaper man who lies in any form, should be made to feel that he is an object of scorn for all honest men."

In giving advice to college men, and he knew whereof he spoke, he denies that they are better or worse than men who have never been inside the walls of a college, while their responsibilities are infinitely greater.

"The worst offense that can be committed against the republic is the offense of the public man who betrays his trust; but second only to it comes the offense of the man who tries to persuade others that an honest and efficient public man is dishonest or unworthy. This is a wrong that can be committed in a great many different ways. Downright foul abuse may, after all, be less dangerous than incessant misstatements, sneers, and those half-truths which are the meanest lies."

HIS LOFTY AIMS AND PURPOSES.

It is evident that Mr. Roosevelt did not pursue a college course merely to gratify some ambitious member of his family who wished him to obtain and flourish an academic degree. Nor did he care to be known merely as an educated gentleman. Neither did he count the friendships and pleasant associations of college life a compensation for four years of study. He had a higher purpose in view than to be able merely to say he had been through college.

He was a student, a scholar, an athlete, a man with a college degree that he might be something else. His education was only a stepping-stone to those grand achievements for which a course of study would help to prepare him. He had lofty aims. He wished to be more than a money maker or a money spender. He did not despise wealth, but he did despise the base, sordid, vulgar use of it.

"Each of us who reads the Gettysburg speech," he writes, "or the second inaugural address of the greatest American of the nineteenth century, or who studies the long campaign and lofty statesmanship of that other American who was even greater, cannot but feel within him that lift toward things higher and nobler which can never be bestowed by the enjoyment of material prosperity."

It is not possible in every instance to guess from a young

man's reputation and standing in college what will be his subsequent career. Sir Walter Scott in his academic days was remarkable for nothing except dulness. He excelled in stupidity. Many persons have magnificent ability, but it requires a long time to wake it up, and then the right occasion must present itself.

Henry Ward Beecher had the distinction of being very near the foot of his class in college. When told by his tutor that he ought to learn his lessons in mathematics for the mental discipline he would thus gain, he replied that, as he always had to have an excuse when he failed on a lesson, he thought getting up his excuses would be better discipline than learning his lessons.

NO SIGNS OF A BRILLIANT CAREER.

When General Grant graduated from West Point he was so near the foot of a class numbering forty-four that no one ever risked his reputation for acuteness by predicting that such a dullard would achieve success in anything he undertook. Many a college dunce has comforted himself with such examples, but never proved himself to possess anything in common with them except the stupidity.

In Mr. Roosevelt's case it could have been predicted from his college course what his career would be afterward. He was known as a positive character, a strong and earnest soul, and independent thinker, full of force and fire, yet not quite so reckless as to incur the charge of being hot-headed. It would indeed be singular if one with so much Dutch blood in him should exhibit a dangerous rashness of conduct. He showed his courage, his force, his positive character in college, and it was easy to predict that these traits would distinguish him in his public career. This remarkable career has occasioned no very great surprise to those who best knew him in his earlier years.

On the day of his graduation he discoursed on natural history. This was one of his favorite studies. His knowledge of this subject is apparent on every page of his interesting descriptions of animal life on our western plains. Even at Harvard he was a kind of Nimrod and had his guns and other sporting

equipments. Outdoor life has always had a charm for him, and to this can be attributed in part his sturdy physique and robust health.

Capable of great endurance, he can distance others in the amount and quality of work he is able to perform. In short, both in mind and body he is a model of vigorous manhood and the "strenuous life" he is so fond of advocating.

After leaving college he went abroad, acting upon the common impression, not entirely a correct one, that the education of a young American cannot be considered complete until it is "finished off" in some foreign capital. For a while he studied at Dresden, then travelled through Switzerland and elsewhere, and distinguished himself as a mountain climber. There was enough of difficulty and danger in this pastime to suit his adventurous nature; besides, it afforded him a fine opportunity for exercising and testing his powers of endurance. To ascend the Jungfrau was no great undertaking, but the far-famed and, one might almost say, fatal Matterhorn was a different proposition. To climb this mountain was to incur risks of a serious nature; only the boldest and most self-reliant athletes would attempt it.

Mr. Roosevelt's success in scaling the almost impassable Alpine heights was such as to entitle him to membership in the Alpine Club of London. No one can become a member of this famous club without having performed a feat in mountain climbing that is worthy of commemoration.

CHAPTER III.

MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE.

MR. ROOSEVELT RESOLVES TO ENTER POLITICAL LIFE—ELECTED ASSEMBLYMAN BY THE MURRAY HILL DISTRICT IN NEW YORK—HIS VIEWS OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP—DUTIES OF PUBLIC OFFICE—HIS YOUTHFUL APPEARANCE—ENEMY OF ALL POLITICAL ABUSES—WHAT HE THINKS CONCERNING "BOSSSES" AND "MACHINES"—EVERY CITIZEN EXPECTED TO BE A PATRIOT AND DO HIS WHOLE DUTY—CORRUPTION IN HIGH PLACES—FRANK TO ADMIT AN ERROR—AUTHOR OF CIVIL SERVICE LAW—ROOSEVELT SNEERED AT AS A REFORMER—VICTORY IN A PERSONAL ENCOUNTER.

MR. ROOSEVELT graduated from Harvard University in 1880, at the age of twenty-two. Returning from his trip to Europe, he began the study of law with his uncle, Robert B. Roosevelt. He had planned to write a history of the United States Navy, and was more engrossed with this, which was work congenial to his tastes, than he was with dry and musty law books. He had set his face toward the field of literature, and devoted all his spare time to the history which he was preparing for publication.

The Roosevelts had always taken great interest in public affairs. They did not believe a man could be a good citizen without doing this. If they were not public officials they had a voice in making them. They were property holders and voters. They set a low estimate on men who are always ready to cry out against public evils and then neglect their duty at primaries and the polls. They knew that municipal government is always what the citizens make it, and if decent, honest citizens are recreant to their sacred trust, bad government will result, and, in fact, is only to be expected. This has been the history of all legislation from time immemorial. If there is ever any improvement in the administration of public affairs it must come from the citizens themselves.

Influenced by such considerations, young Roosevelt resolved

to launch into politics. He had the commendable example of a long line of worthy ancestors. They had been powerful factors in molding the commercial and social life of New York. His ideas of good citizenship had come to him as a kind of inheritance. He did not have to sit down and reason himself into a political career. Being a Roosevelt, he was expected, of course, to be public spirited, and take a constant interest in city affairs and government.

EVERY MAN SHOULD SHOW HIS COLORS.

"I have always believed," he has said, describing his entry into the political field, "that every man should join a political organization and should attend the primaries; that he should not be content to be merely governed, but should do his part of that work. So after leaving college I went to the local political headquarters, attended all the meetings, and took my part in whatever came up. There arose a revolt against the member of assembly from that district, and I was nominated to succeed him, and was elected."

What could be expected of a young man who was but twenty-three years old? Yet he was not held back from active effort by what the great English statesman, Pitt, described, in words of bitter irony, as "the unpardonable crime of being a young man."

When the famous Jeremy Taylor went to his bishop to obtain orders as a clergyman, the bishop looked at his youthful face and figure, shook his head, and said, "You are entirely too young." "If the Lord spares my life," quickly responded Taylor, "I will remedy that little matter." The reply captivated the bishop and carried the day. The callow youth was ordained, and afterward became the celebrated Bishop Jeremy Taylor, whose brilliant discourses and writings are among the classics of English literature.

There was something about Theodore Roosevelt that indicated a maturity beyond his years. When he spoke he had something to say. When he gave an opinion it appeared to come from a well-trained judicial mind. He soon showed himself to be the deadly enemy of all political abuses. He was a problem on the

hands of men of a different character ; they were puzzled to know what to do with him.

It was in the fall of 1881 that he was elected from the Twenty-first district, and he was twice re-elected, serving in the legislatures of 1882, 1883 and 1884. This district embraces a considerable part of Murray Hill, a locality long noted for its aristocracy of wealth, and equally notorious at that time for the unprincipled, corrupt and infamous character of the men who represented it at Albany. So far as its wealth, intelligence and honest virtues were represented, it might as well have taken its assemblymen from the reeking dregs of the Bowery.

FIGHTS FOR DECENT GOVERNMENT.

Here was a chance for Mr. Roosevelt to make a determined fight in the interest of decent government, and with coat off and sleeves rolled up he went into the contest. He was never dismayed by anything in the nature of a fight, and his courage was equal to the emergency. There was a rattling among the dry-bones. A new force was in the field. His weapons were truth, honesty, downright denunciation of all corruption, and a rallying cry for such a State government as would redeem the great metropolis and rescue it from the grip of the plunderers and low politicians whose chicanery had made it a hissing and a by-word.

By dint of hard effort and aided by men who thought and felt as he did, he secured the nomination, and as the district was republican his election was assured. He was to be a law-maker at Albany, representing a constituency that had hitherto paid little attention to its own best interests and had become the victim of designing men.

His personal appearance at this time was not such as to give promise that he would become a leader in the lower House at Albany, or would be anything more than a good, well-meaning stripling, but one who could be easily managed and manipulated by older men experienced in all the arts of questionable legislation.

He had a youthful look ; he was the youngest member of the assembly. He was well dressed and immediately was nicknamed

"Silk Stocking." There was nothing of the swagger and assumption invariably exhibited by small men "clothed with a little brief authority." He was very near-sighted and his eye-glasses gave him the appearance of a man of books rather than a man of affairs. What were his conceptions of the duties belonging to public office may be gathered from his own words :

"The terms 'machine' and 'machine politician' are now undoubtedly used ordinarily in a reproachful sense ; but it does not follow that this sense is always the right one. On the contrary, the machine is often a very powerful instrument for good ; and a machine politician really desirous of doing honest work on behalf of the community is fifty times as useful as a philanthropic outsider. In the rough, however, the feeling against machine politics and politicians is tolerably well justified by the facts, although this statement really reflects most severely upon the educated and honest people who largely hold themselves aloof from public life and show a curious incapacity for fulfilling their public duties.

"MACHINES" FOR PERSONAL BENEFIT.

"The organizations that are commonly and distinctly known as machines are those belonging to the two great recognized parties or to their factional subdivisions; and the reason why the word machine has come to be used, to a certain extent, as a term of opprobrium is to be found in the fact that these organizations are now run by the leaders very largely as business concerns to benefit themselves and their followers, with little regard for the community at large. This is natural enough. The men having the control and doing the work have gradually come to have the same feeling about politics that other men have about the business of a merchant or manufacturer ; it was too much to expect that if left entirely to themselves they would continue disinterestedly to work for the benefit of others.

"Many a machine politician who is to-day a most unwholesome influence in our politics is in private life quite as respectable as any one else ; only he has forgotten that his business affects the

State at large, and regarding it as merely his own private concern he has carried into it the same selfish spirit that actuates in business matters the majority of the average mercantile community.

"A merchant or manufacturer works his business as a rule purely for his own benefit, without any regard whatever for the community at large. The merchant uses all his influence for a low tariff, and the manufacturer is even more strenuously in favor of protection—not at all upon any theory of abstract right, but because of self-interest. Each views such a political question as the tariff not from the standpoint of how it will affect the nation as a whole, but merely from that of how it will affect him personally.

CONSTANT VIGILANCE NEEDED.

"If a community were in favor of protection, but nevertheless permitted all the governmental machinery to fall into hands of importing merchants, it would be small cause for wonder if the latter shaped the laws to suit themselves, and the chief blame, after all, would rest with the supine and lethargic majority which failed to have enough energy to take charge of their own affairs. Our machine politicians in actual life are in just this same way; their actions are very often dictated by selfish motives, with but little regard for the people at large, though, like the merchants, they often hold a very high standard of honor on certain points; they therefore need to be continually watched and opposed by those who wish to see good government. But, after all, it is hardly to be wondered at that they abuse power which is allowed to fall into their hands owing to the ignorance or timid indifference of those who by right should themselves keep it."

In one of his addresses President Roosevelt had something pointed and wholesome to say for the individual, as an individual, and also as a member of the body politic with a duty to perform to the government which shields him. As usual, the President put aside, as did Carlyle, the enervating doctrine that mere personal happiness, the primrose path of ease and delight, is a worthy aim for strong men of a vigorous race who have done

things, and in doing the hardest tasks find and should find the highest and best satisfaction. Let us not make believe that there are no obstacles in the way of life, he says ; "living is fighting" ; let us quit ourselves like men, and happiness will follow or not, as it may be :

"For many of us life is going to be very hard. For each one of us who does anything it is going to have hard stretches in it. Otherwise, men would not do anything. If a man does not meet with difficulties, if he does not put himself in a way where he has to overcome them, he would not do anything that is worthy of being done."

BROTHERHOOD MUST BE RECOGNIZED.

Gird yourselves, then, for the work to be done, and Americans will never shirk. Nor does the individual lack vigor ; but in the midst of this seething, restless activity huge problems, social and industrial, face us that must be solved, and they can only be solved by the recognition of the brotherhood of man, in which is involved the fact that all the people in the country have rights, and all equally have duties.

Ours, he says, is the best form of government in the world ; but it is not automatic. It is adapted only to the highest general level of intelligence and education, and to a moral and highly patriotic people, who not only feel their patriotism swelling when the foreign foe threatens, but always have the steady glow of devotion to the common weal. If, for instance, employers and workers could be got together and made to know each other better, and recognize the rights the one of the other, industrial war would not be frequent.

"Now, in our life of to-day—in our great complex industrial centres—what do we need most? We need most each to understand the other's viewpoint—to understand that the other man is at bottom like himself. Each of us should understand that, and try to approach the subject at issue, or any problem that arises, with a firm determination not to be weak or foolish. That is helpful to your neighbor."

According as we one and all do our duty by the nation and by one another, in the spirit which animated our two great Americans, Washington and Lincoln, will this nation, he says, "succeed or fall in the century which has opened before us."

Now this seems to be a sufficiently indefinite and hazy plan for the cure of the defects in the body politic and for the preservation of the republic. Here is no brilliant or striking programme, no patent method; but in truth there is no patent method attainable. Laws and ordinances are all futile if the people be not imbued with the spirit of justice. In a frank and direct way the President enforced the old lesson that the nation will be just as good as the individuals who compose it, and not a whit better. All the legislation that the wit of man has conceived never made a strong nation, nor ever will.

CHARACTER IS EVERYTHING.

It is the fault of the age that too much stress is placed on laws or systems or the things which Matthew Arnold called mere machinery, while the plain, but too much overlooked, truth remains that the character of the individual is the only preservative of a people; that safety depends on character, on devotion to those great principles of truth, honor, justice and mercy—"principles against which no argument can be listened to; principles which are the books, the arts, the academies that teach, lift up and nourish the world, without which it is better to die than to live; which every servant of God, over every sea and in all lands, should cherish." This is the simple doctrine the President would teach, and by word and example he furnishes an attractive and inspiring spectacle to the country, armed, as we believe he is, in simple truth and direct honesty.

These were the ideas concerning private and public duty that controlled and actuated Roosevelt, the young legislator who was sent up to Albany to help make laws for the greatest commonwealth in the land—and not merely to make laws, but to unmake some that had already been made and were known to be vicious and unjust, when, at the connivance of public robbers, they were

placed on the statute book. It was an inviting field for a young reformer, provided he had grit and courage enough to undertake such a herculean task. Fortunately, he was not appalled by the magnitude of the work to be done.

What his ideas were, and what were the principles he intended to act upon and advocate soon came to be known; men who were of his way of thinking, gathered around him, and before the first term of the legislature was over he was the recognized leader of the minority party in the assembly.

VIEWS ON STATE LEGISLATION.

Mr. Roosevelt is the author of a paper on "Phases of State Legislation," in which he has stated clearly some of the views he holds on this subject :

"There are two classes of cases in which corrupt members get money. One is when a wealthy corporation buys through some measure which will be of great benefit to itself, although perhaps an injury to the public at large; the other is when a member introduces a bill hostile to some moneyed interest with the expectation of being paid to let the matter drop. The latter, technically called a 'strike,' is much the more common; for in spite of the outcry against them in legislative matters, corporations are more often sinned against than sinning.

"It is difficult for reasons already stated to convict the offending member, though we have very good laws against bribery. The reform has got to come from the people at large. It will be hard to make any great improvement in the character of the legislators until respectable people become fully awake to their duties, and until the newspapers become more truthful and less reckless in their statements."

But "there is a much brighter side to the picture—and this is the larger side, too. It would be impossible to get together a body of more earnest, upright and disinterested men than the band of legislators, largely young men who" (during the three years he was in office) "have averted so much evil and accomplished so much good at Albany. This body of legislators who,

at any rate, worked honestly for what they thought right, were as a whole quite unselfish and were not treated particularly well by their constituents. Most of them soon got to realize the fact that if they wished to enjoy their brief space of political life they would have to make it a rule never to consider, in deciding how to vote on any question, how their vote would affect their own political prospects.

VALUE OF THOROUGH ORGANIZATION.

“Under our form of government, no man can accomplish anything by himself—he must work in combination with others; but there seems often to be a certain lack of the robust virtues in our educated men which makes them shrink from the struggle and the inevitable contact with rough politicians (who must often be rudely handled before they can be forced to behave), while their lack of familiarity with their surroundings causes them to lack discrimination between the politicians who are decent and those who are not; for in their eyes the two classes, both equally unfamiliar, are indistinguishable.

“Another reason why this class is not of more consequence in politics is that it is often really out of sympathy—or, at least, its more conspicuous members are—with the feelings and interests of the great mass of American people; and it is a discreditable fact that it is in this class that what has been most aptly termed the ‘colonial’ spirit still survives. From different causes the laboring classes, even when thoroughly honest at heart, often fail to appreciate honesty in their representatives. They are frequently not well informed in regard to the character of the latter, and they are apt to be led aside by the loud professions of the so-called labor reformers who are always promising to procure by legislation the advantages which can only come to workingmen, or to any other men, by their individual or united energy, intelligence and forethought. Very much has been accomplished by legislation for laboring men by procuring mechanics’ lien laws, factory laws, etc.; and hence it often comes they think legislation can accomplish all things for them.”

He then goes on to show, as he has done repeatedly in his writings and public addresses, that laws are powerless in themselves. They are not automatic. They are only the instruments by which the community acts, and unless the individual citizen is back of them they are utterly worthless. You may legislate until doomsday; you may pile laws as high as the tower of Babel, but they are nothing more than useless rubbish unless there is a public sentiment that demands their execution and rises in righteous wrath when they are ignored or violated.

ELECTED AGAIN TO THE LEGISLATURE.

After Mr. Roosevelt had served one term in the legislature his record was so satisfactory that he was re-elected by the 21st assembly district. His large majority of 2,219 showed plainly what his constituents thought of the upright course he had pursued and the efficient work he had done. He ran 2,000 votes ahead of his ticket, and with this strong endorsement took his seat again in the lower House at Albany. His party was now in the majority and his friends began an active canvass to make him speaker. He proved a strong candidate for the nomination, but failed by a few votes

This was not a cause of regret either to himself or to those who had supported him, as it left him free to lead his party on the floor and push through certain measures for the public good that were urgently needed. His frankness was one of his most prominent traits. If convinced that any bill he had advocated was against the true interests of the public or any corporation, he yielded promptly, and did it with a grace and readiness that elevated him in the esteem of his fellow legislators.

In the session of 1883 he began a vigorous warfare against the railroad companies, and introduced a bill requiring the New York elevated road to reduce its fare from ten cents to five. He did this for the purpose of freeing the public, and workingmen especially, from what he considered an extortionate fare. The bill met with much opposition, but with characteristic energy and perseverance he pushed it through and secured its adoption.

Grover Cleveland was then Governor of New York, and he promptly vetoed the bill on the ground that the rate of fare had been taken into consideration when the companies asked the public to invest their capital, and also on the ground of an implied obligation that had arisen between the State and the railroad companies when the franchises were granted. These were considerations that Mr. Roosevelt had overlooked, and he came to believe he had been fathering an unjust measure, although his motives no one could impugn. The question came up as to whether the bill should be passed over the Governor's veto. To the astonishment of his associates he flatly opposed it, and was now ready to kill the very enactment he had urged with so much courage and ability.

A REMARKABLE CONFESSION.

"I have to say with shame," he began, "that when I voted for this bill I did not act as I think I ought to have acted, and as I generally have acted on the floor of this House. For the only time that I ever voted here contrary to what I think to be honestly right I did at that time. I have to confess that I weakly yielded, partly to a vindictive feeling toward the infernal thieves who have that railroad in charge, and partly to the popular voice of New York. For the managers of the elevated railroads I have as little feeling as any man here, and if it were possible I would be willing to pass a bill of attainder against Gould and all of his associates.

"I realize that they have done the most incalculable harm to this community—with their hired stock-jobbing newspaper, with their corruption of the Judiciary, and with their corruption of this House. It is not a question of doing right to them, for they are merely common thieves. As to the resolution—a petition handed in by the directors of the company—signed by Gould and his son, I would pay more attention to a petition signed by Barney Aaron, Owen Geoghegan, and Billy McGlory than I would pay to that paper, because I regard these men as part of an infinitely dangerous order—the wealthy criminal class."

The motion to pass the bill over Governor Cleveland's veto

was lost, but Roosevelt had scored heavily in the respect and esteem of all honest men. He was as ready to admit an error as he was to do what he honestly believed to be right. Nor was this all. He had coined a phrase—"the wealthy criminal class"—that struck the popular heart and further enhanced his popularity with the plain people. It was a remarkable phrase to be uttered by one who was himself a young man of wealth. In this, as in many other instances, he showed his well-known habit of calling things by their right names, whoever might be hit or hurt.

One of Mr. Roosevelt's biographers furnishes the following information concerning his third term at Albany: "After his third election in 1884 he introduced the Civil Service law, a bold and revolutionary political measure at that time. He worked hard for legislation for the benefit of New York city, and was exceedingly active in furthering all philanthropic bills and those measures having for their object the interests of the laboring men. He was the man who instituted the movement for the abolition of tenement-house cigar factories. He was chairman of the noted Legislative Investigating Committee, the Roosevelt Committee, which brought to light many of the abuses existing in the city government at that time."

HIS OPINION OF THE AVERAGE LAW-MAKER.

His opinion of the ordinary State legislator is made clear from the succeeding statement: "The worst legislators come from the great cities. Among them are a few cultivated and scholarly men, but the bulk are foreigners of little or no education. It is their ignorance, quite as much as actual viciousness, which makes it so difficult to secure the passage of good laws or prevent the passage of bad ones; and it is the most irritating of the many elements with which we have to contend in the fight for good government."

The qualities necessary to success in those legislative battles Mr. Roosevelt himself describes as follows: "To get through any such measures requires genuine hard work, a certain amount of

parliamentary skill, a good deal of tact and courage, and, above all, a thorough knowledge of the men with whom one has to deal and of the motives which actuate them.

"Legislative life has temptations enough to make it unadvisable for any weak man, whether young or old, to enter it. A great many men deteriorate very much morally when they go to Albany. It will be hard to make any great improvement in the character of the legislators until respectable people become more fully awake to their duties, and until the newspapers become more truthful and less reckless in their statements. The servile tool of the 'boss' or the 'machine' in the legislature can rarely be a good public servant."

PLEA FOR HIGH STANDARD OF CITIZENSHIP.

In the same line of thought is the following extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Roosevelt at Hartford, Conn., when he visited that city and was welcomed by an enthusiastic throng: "Mankind goes ahead but slowly, and it goes ahead mainly through each of us trying to do the best that is in him, and to do it in the sanest way. We have founded our republic upon the theory that the average man will, as a rule, do the right thing, that in the long run the majority are going to decide for what is sane and wholesome. If our fathers were mistaken in that theory, if ever things become such—not occasionally but persistently, that the mass of the people do what is unwholesome, what is wrong, then the republic cannot stand.

"I care not how good its laws. I care not what marvelous mechanism its constitution may embody. Back of the laws, back of the administration, back of the system of government, lies the man, lies the average manhood of our people, and in the long run we are going to go up or go down accordingly as the average standard of our citizenship does or does not wax in growth and grace. [Great applause.]

"Now, when we come to the question of good citizenship, the first requisite is that the man shall do the homely, every-day, humdrum duties well. A man is not a good citizen, I do not care

how lofty his thoughts are about citizenship in the abstract, if in the concrete his actions do not bear them out; and it does not make much difference how high his aspirations for mankind at large may be, if he does not behave well in his own family those aspirations do not bear visible fruit. He has got to be a good bread-winner, he has got to take care of his wife and his children, he has got to be a neighbor whom his neighbors can trust.

“He has got to act squarely in his business relations, he has got to do those every-day ordinary things first, or he is not a good citizen. But he has got to do more than that. In this country of ours the average citizen has got to devote a good deal of thought and time to the affairs of the State as a whole or those affairs are going to go backward; and he has got to devote that thought and that time steadily and intelligently.

SPASMS IN THE WORK OF REFORM.

“If there is any one quality that is not admirable, whether in a nation or in an individual, it is hysterics, either in religion or in anything else. The man or woman who makes up for ten-days’ indifference to duty by an eleventh-day of morbid repentance about that duty is of scant use in the world. [Laughter.] Now in the same way it is of no possible use to decline to go through all the ordinary duties of citizenship for a long space of time and then suddenly to get up and feel very angry about something or somebody, not clearly defined in one’s mind, and demand reform, as if it was a concrete substance to be handed out forthwith.”

It can readily be understood that Mr. Roosevelt had a very poor opinion of those New York voters who cried out against the evils that afflicted their city, yet did little or nothing to remedy them. One day he said to a gentleman, “I suppose you will, of course, vote next Tuesday.” “I am sorry to say,” the man replied, “that I have an engagement to go quail-hunting on that day.” Imagine a man like Roosevelt deliberately setting aside the highest duty, the most important function of a citizen, to chase quails with a shotgun. The man who would not spend a moment’s time, or a cent of his money, in the interest of good

government was little less than a traitor and was only to be despised.

When Roosevelt began his career at Albany some one sneeringly remarked that he had "started out to reform the universe." Those who can sneer at the honest efforts of a true reformer are not likely to reform anything, but finally disappear from public view, leaving behind them only the slimy trail of their own corruption and knavery. At Albany Mr. Roosevelt boldly attacked public abuses that had been festering for years in the body politic. He did not succeed in every instance, but the fault was not his. It lay at the door of the tricksters, the men who put themselves up at auction, the party trimmers who were afraid their political interests would be imperilled.

VICTOR IN A PERSONAL ENCOUNTER.

Of course, a "Silk Stocking" who believed in good government and upright law-makers encountered opposition and made enemies. But he never cherished hard feelings toward any one who did not choose to support the measures he advocated. In this connection the following incident related by one of his biographers will be of interest:

"It has always been a peculiarity of Mr. Roosevelt's nature that he never 'got mad' at people, no matter what the provocation. He always remembered faces, and all that had passed in his association with a man; but he never avoided that person, no matter what the latter's conduct may have been. In legislative life that is an especially valuable trait. He could fight a man all day on the floor and then meet him with a laugh and a jest in the evening.

"And so on this night, after a day when he had been a particularly sharp thorn in the side of corruption, he moved about the lobby of the old hotel, chatting with friends, tossing a laugh and a good-natured thrust at those who had opposed him, and treating the whole matter from the standpoint of one who understands the motives as well as the actions of those with whom he is associated. He did not pose. He made no pretense of loftier

morality than those about him, but let them draw their own conclusions from his conduct.

"At ten o'clock he started to leave the hotel. On the way from the upper portion of the lobby, where he had been chatting with fellow members, he passed the door leading to the buffet. And from that door, as by a preconcerted signal from the 'honorable men' with whom he had been associating, came a group of fellows, rather noisy, and full of the jostling which follows tarrying at the wine. They were not a pleasant lot. One in particular was a pugilist called 'Stubby' Collins, and this bully bumped rather forcibly against Mr. Roosevelt. The latter was alone, but he saw in an instant, with the eye of a man accustomed to collisions, the fact that this little party had waylaid him with a purpose. He paused, fully on his guard, and then 'Stubby,' with an appearance of the greatest indignation, struck at him, demanding angrily 'What do you mean, running into me that way?'

THOROUGHLY ENJOYED THE SCRIMMAGE.

"The blow did not land. The men who hired 'Stubby' had not informed him that this young member of the assembly had been one of the very best boxers at Harvard, and rather liked a fight. They had simply paid the slugger a certain price to 'do up' the man who could not take a hint in any other way.

"In an instant Mr. Roosevelt had chosen his position. It was beyond the group of revellers, and where he could keep both them and the more aristocratic party of their employers in view. And there, standing quite alone, 'Stubby' made his rush. In half a minute the thug was beaten. He had met far more than his match, and the two or three of his friends who tendered their assistance were gathering themselves up from the marble floor of the lobby and wondering if there had not been a mistake.

"When it was all over Mr. Roosevelt walked, still smiling, down the room, and told the 'honorable' providers of this combat that he understood perfectly their connection with it, and that he was greatly obliged to them—he had not enjoyed himself more for a year."

CHAPTER IV.

MR. ROOSEVELT AS A COWBOY AND RANCHMAN.

DIME NOVELS—SEEKING ROMANTIC ADVENTURES—EMPTINESS OF A LIFE OF MERE SPORT—ROOSEVELT BUYS A RANCH—FAR FROM CIVILIZATION—ADVANTAGES OF LIFE ON THE PLAINS—FIRST APPEARANCE AT MEDORA—THE RANCH BUILDING—BREAKING WILD HORSES—PURSUIT OF BIG GAME—THRILLING ADVENTURE WITH A GRIZZLY BEAR—FRIGHTENS A RUFFIAN—HIS ACCOUNT OF A FLOCK OF WILD GEESE—STORY OF "OLD EPHRAIM"—WINTER NIGHTS AT THE RANCH.

IF Theodore Roosevelt, the boy, ever read a dime novel or a story of wild western life, no mention has ever been made of it. He did not get his love of frontier life from the cheap literature that kills bears and Indians on every page. The average boy who reads of the burly bandit and desperate outlaw holding up stage-coaches and railway trains, is apt to admire such bold deeds and imagine himself the hero of similar achievements. He is eager to outdo the ruffians whose exploits are all duly chronicled.

Suddenly the band of desperadoes appears, halts the coach in an unfrequented spot, flourishes rifles and revolvers, terrorizes the helpless passengers, strips them of their valuables, paralyzes by threats all attempts at resistance, and, having secured the plunder, purses, watches and jewelry, vanishes from sight, leaving the outraged victims to express their thankfulness at having escaped with their lives. Stories of this description, dressed up in hysterical phrases, form the staple of that vast mass of pernicious dime literature which fascinates the youthful reader and in many instances turns him into an adventurer and an outlaw.

He is thrilled by the strange, weird, sanguinary tales of pioneer life. He craves a career of romantic adventure. He would shoot a bear or an Indian; he would ride a bucking horse on a hunting excursion; perhaps he would become an armed ruffian

and make his name a terror by robbery and deeds of violence. His ambition is to roam the plains, lead the life of a marauder and become a freebooter like those whose exploits he has read of in books and which he is eager to imitate.

It was not from such motives or with such intentions that young Roosevelt resolved to try the experiences of life on the western plains. If the thousand tales of daring feats, bold enterprises and dangerous ventures that are so eagerly read by school-boys ever had any charm for him, they certainly did not influence his actions in the slightest degree. He had no thought of achieving distinction by scalping Indians. But he wanted a ranch in the West and secured one in North Dakota during his third term at Albany. He was fond of hunting big game. The long expedition with his trusty rifle and a few associates or attendants was his pastime.

BOOKS WERE A PART OF HIS OUTFIT.

Mere sport is commonly an idle thing, a device for whiling away time and obtaining a temporary pleasure. Roosevelt had no thought of going to the Bad Lands for any such purpose. He had other objects in view, and although enjoying the chase as any full-blooded man would be apt to enjoy it, he never would have ventured into the far West merely for this. He had aims and ideals that could not be realized by trout fishing and bear hunting. His books went with him, and were as much a part of his outfit as his gun and cartridge pouch.

He felt that vigor of mind and body would result from roughing it on his ranch. He would breathe a pure air, drink from unpolluted streams, climb steep cliffs and stand on their summits in the glow of healthful exercise. The winds would bronze his cheek and toughen his fibre. The weariness of toil would bring refreshing sleep; the silence of the evening camp would give him an opportunity to think; books would be read with a keener relish; the wild horse, spirited and hard to subdue, would test his nerve and muscle; association with the shrewd, yet untutored, ranchmen would hold him in contact with common,

ordinary men ; he would learn much from the rough characters whose names are never written in histories, but who are after all heroes in their way.

Mr. Roosevelt's ranch was a long distance from even the outposts of civilization, six hundred miles from St. Paul, on the northwestern border of North Dakota. Nature there is pure and unadulterated—no snorting locomotives, no whizzing automobiles, no street cars or fashionable promenaders, no demoniac yells from brokers on the exchange, no church bells or operatic choirs, and no rank odors from gutters and alleys. There is something to be said in favor of Dame Nature—dense forests, high bluffs, dark ravines, noisy waterfalls, suns that modestly hide their afternoon faces behind mountains, birds and animals that fly and roam in their native haunts, rivers that sweep on majestically to the sea. God made all this.

ADVANTAGES OF FRONTIER LIFE.

If Mr. Roosevelt wished to flee to solitude and a retreat from all intrusion, he made a good choice of location. The nearest town is Medora, eight miles away, so named after the wife of the Marquis de Mores, who, before her marriage, was the beautiful Miss Von Hoffman, of New York.

In such a region as that, one is not likely to be troubled by his neighbors. Many miles intervene between a ranch and the one adjoining it. Your business is not interfered with ; there is no neighborhood gossip ; reports that have to travel twenty miles to find a listener must be pretty robust if they do not die on the way. One need not complain of depredations by his neighbors' chickens or annoyance from pedlers.

Out into this remote corner of the Bad Lands Mr. Roosevelt went and left the world behind him. He ceased to be a legislator that he might become a cowboy. He made as good a cowboy as he did assemblyman of the Empire State, determined always to do well whatever he undertook. His life on the ranch was not a play-spell. He did not ask his men to do what he was not willing to do himself, and any one who got an earlier start in the morning

than he did or worked later at night might have been considered a good candidate for rapid promotion.

When Mr. Roosevelt first appeared at Medora in the early eighties he was an object of great curiosity. A central saloon was the place of rendezvous for both the respectable people in town and those who belonged to that class of adventurers who frequent all frontier settlements. They eyed him curiously, wondered who he was and what brought him to that place, made side remarks about his personal appearance, and did not for a moment class him as one of themselves. He was young, rather tall and slim, dressed well and had the bearing of a gentleman entirely unused to a wild western life. They were figuring how much could be made out of him.

NOT A VICTIM FOR CHEATS AND ROBBERS.

He was too good a judge of human nature, and too expert in handling men, to be made a victim of any set of adventurers however shrewd or desperate they might be. As Mr. Roosevelt had gone to this locality for buffalo hunting he singled out a guide and found his experience of great service. This young fellow, named Sylvane Ferris, finally became a sort of companion to his employer. He was pleased to learn that the near-sighted sportsman from "way down East" could walk, ride, climb, shoot and rough it equal to any one who had grown up in that region and was accustomed to the adventures of life on the plains.

All this was only preliminary to securing a ranch, and combining sport with profit derived from raising such stock as cattle and horses. The ranch building is made of logs, hewn on one side for ornament. Some attention had to be paid to looks even in that wild country; no spot on earth can be found where outward appearances are of no account. There is a long, low veranda shaded by thrifty cotton-woods; a stretch of meadow lies in front and this is buttressed by precipitous cliffs.

The building is a story and a half high. On the ground floor is a living room, a library and kitchen. The sleeping apartments up stairs are of the most primitive kind, and none but cow-

boys accustomed to sleeping anywhere would be willing to take the chances of a night's rest in such rude barracks. In front is a horse corral, an enclosure in which to round up horses. This is built in circular shape to prevent the injury that might follow from the animals crowding into corners.

Mr. Roosevelt stocked his ranch with sixty head of wild horses. These were all to be broken to bit and bridle. No person except a cowboy could fail to have a vision of broken bones, and contusions ending in life-long scars and injuries, in view of the dangers of the work to be undertaken. Mr. Roosevelt appeared to enjoy it, and no one was more willing than he to mount a bucking mustang that preferred standing on either end to standing on all-fours. Once he was thrown by a long-legged, vicious brute that went by the name of "Ben Butler," and being too plucky to stay thrown he re-mounted and not until some time afterward did he disclose the fact that by his fall he had three ribs broken.

STORY OF HIS "MOST THRILLING MOMENT."

He could roam to any distance through the Bad Lands and pursue big game over a vast territory. The land is government land, is unsurveyed and likely to remain so for an indefinite time to come. It is fine hunting ground, being well stocked with such game as an enthusiastic hunter likes. Mr. Roosevelt occasionally had startling adventures while engaged in his favorite sport. Once he was in Idaho, was out alone with his gun, and was charged upon by a wounded grizzly bear, an animal terribly ferocious when face to face with a foe. We append his graphic account of this encounter, which he calls his "most thrilling moment:"

"I held true, aiming behind the shoulder, and my bullet shattered the point or lower end of his heart, taking out a big nick. Instantly the great bear turned with a harsh roar of fury and challenge, blowing the bloody foam from his mouth, so that I saw the gleam of his white fangs; and then he charged straight at me, crashing and bounding through the laurel bushes, so that it was hard to aim. I waited until he came to a fallen tree, raking

him, as he topped it, with a ball, which entered his chest and went through the cavity of his body; but he neither swerved nor flinched, and at the moment I did not know that I had struck him.

"He came steadily on, and in another second was almost upon me. I fired for his forehead, but my bullet went low, entering his open mouth, smashing his lower jaw and going into the neck. I leaped to one side almost as I pulled the trigger; and through the hanging smoke the first thing I saw was his paw, as he made a vicious side blow at me. The rush of his charge carried him past.

"As he struck he lurched forward, leaving a pool of bright blood where his muzzle hit the ground; but he recovered himself, and made two or three jumps onward, while I hurriedly jammed a couple of cartridges into the magazine, my rifle holding only four, all of which I had fired. Then he tried to pull up, but as he did so his muscles seemed suddenly to give way, his head dropped, and he rolled over and over like a shot rabbit. Each of my first three bullets had inflicted a mortal wound."

GOOD MARKSMAN AT RUNNING GAME.

Mr. Roosevelt has the name of being a good shot, particularly at running game, although he says his eyesight is too defective to admit of his taking first rank in this respect. This is what he has to say on this score:

"I myself am not and never will be more than an ordinary shot, for my eyes are bad and my hand not over steady; yet I have killed every kind of game to be found on the plains, partly because I have hunted very perseveringly, and partly because by practice I have learned to shoot about as well at a wild animal as at a target."

A correspondent of the *New York Herald* writing from Medora, in 1895, tells an incident which is indicative of the mettle in the make-up of Mr. Roosevelt. The incident was this: "For a long time after he had established his ranches the feeling between the outlaw element and the cattlemen ran high. It culminated

in a meeting, held in a little, unfinished freight shanty at Medora, for the purpose of banding the cattle owners together for mutual protection. It was openly hinted that a certain deputy sheriff was in collusion with the tough element. Not more than a score of quiet, determined men made up the meeting. The sheriff was present, an interested spectator.

BOLDLY FACES A DISHONEST SHERIFF.

"After some preliminary forms of organization, Mr. Roosevelt got up and addressed the meeting, or rather, addressed the sheriff. Never in the history of the frontier has such a speech been listened to. He openly accused the sheriff of dishonesty and incompetence, and with the reflected light from the officer's pearl-handled revolver at his belt flashing across his gold-rimmed glasses, the speaker scored him as a man unworthy and unfit for his office. It is one thing to deliver a fiery accusation of general or personal charges at a crowded meeting of law-abiding people. It is another to coolly stand before a silent handful of frontiersmen and openly accuse one of dishonesty.

"Death stares closely in the face the man who dares attempt it, for these men, bred in isolation, are sensitive to the quick on their personal honor, and an accusation that would be laughed at in Cooper Union would eat out a man's heart here. With downcast head the sheriff said never a word, but his prestige was gone forever."

President Roosevelt's hunting experiences were not always so dangerous as the one just narrated. While preferring what goes by the name of "big game," he was not indifferent to any beast or fowl. The larger birds often drew shots from his rifle and added to his trophies.

On one occasion he was annoyed by a flock of geese and furnishes the following account of his attack on them :

"They were clustered on a high sandbar in the middle of the river, which here ran in a very wide bed between two low banks. The only way to get at them was to crawl along the river-bed which was partly dry, using the patches of rushes and the sand

hillocks and drift-wood to shield myself from their view. As it was already late and the sun was just sinking, I hastily retreated a few paces, dropped on the bank, and began to creep along on my hands and knees through the sand and gravel. Such work is always tiresome, and is especially so when done against time. I kept in line with a great log washed up on the shore, which was some seventy-five yards from the geese.

A SHOT THAT WENT TO THE MARK.

"On reaching it and looking over, I was annoyed to find that in the fading light I could not distinguish the birds clearly enough to shoot, as the dark river bank was behind them. I crawled ahead quickly. Peeping over the edge I could now see the geese, gathered into a clump with their necks held straight out, sharply outlined against the horizon; the sand flats stretching out on either side, while the sky above was barred with gray and faint crimson. I fired into the thickest of the bunch, and as the rest flew off, with discordant clamor, ran forward and picked up my victim, a fat young wild goose (or Canada goose), the body badly torn by the bullet."

The President also relates another experience:

"I had been out after antelopes, starting before there was any light in the heavens, and pushing straight out towards the rolling prairie. After two or three hours, when the sun was well up, I neared where a creek ran in a broad, shallow valley. I had seen no game, and before coming up to the crest of the divide, beyond which lay the creek bottom, I dismounted and crawled up to it, so as to see if any animal had come down to drink.

"Field glasses are almost always carried while hunting on the plains, as the distances at which one can see game are so enormous. On looking over the crest with the glasses the valley of the creek for about a mile was stretched before me. At my feet the low hills came closer together than in other places, and shelved abruptly down to the bed of the valley, where there was a small grove of box-alders and cotton-woods. The beavers had, in times gone by, built a large dam at this place across the creek,

which must have produced a great back-flow and made a regular little lake in the times of freshets.

"But the dam was now broken, and the beavers, or most of them, gone, and in the place of the lake was a long, green meadow. Glancing towards this my eye was at once caught by a row of white objects stretched straight across it, and another look showed me that they were snow geese. They were feeding, and were moving abreast of one another slowly down the length of the meadow towards the end nearest me, where the patch of small trees and brushwood lay. A goose is not as big game as an antelope; still I had never shot a snow goose, and we needed fresh meat, so I slipped back over the crest and ran down to the bed of the creek, round a turn of the hill, where the geese were out of sight.

GETTING A GOOD POSITION FOR A SHOT.

"The creek was not an entirely dry one, but there was no depth of water in it except in certain deep holes; elsewhere it was a muddy ditch with steep sides, difficult to cross on horseback because of the quicksands. I walked up to the trees without any special care, as they screened me from view, and looked cautiously out from behind them. The geese were acting just as our tame geese act in feeding on a common, moving along with their necks stretched out before them, nibbling and jerking at the grass as they tore it up by mouthfuls.

"They were very watchful, and one or the other of them had its head straight in the air looking sharply round all the time. Geese will not come near any cover in which foes may be lurking if they can help it, and so I feared that they would turn before coming near enough to the brush to give me a good shot. I therefore dropped into the bed of the creek, which wound tortuously along the side of the meadow, and crept on all fours along one of its banks until I came to where it made a loop out towards the middle of the bottom.

"Here there was a tuft of tall grass, which served as a good cover, and I stood upright, dropping my hat, and looking through between the blades. The geese, still in a row, with several yards'

interval between each one and his neighbor, were only sixty or seventy yards off, still feeding towards me. They came along quite slowly, and the ones nearest, with habitual suspicion, edged away from the scattered tufts of grass and weeds which marked the brink of the creek. I tried to get two in line, but could not.

"There was one gander much larger than any other bird in the lot, though not the closest to me; as he went by just opposite my hiding place, he stopped still, broadside to me, and I aimed just at the root of the neck—for he was near enough for any one firing a rifle from a rest to hit him about where he pleased. Away flew the others, and in a few minutes, I was riding along with the white gander dangling behind my saddle."

INTERVIEW WITH THE GREAT GRIZZLY OF MONTANA.

One of the great feats of Mr. Roosevelt with his rifle was in his last interview with Old Ephraim, the Great Grizzly of Montana. The bear signs were found in the midst of pine trees, and the hunter thus tells the story:

"The beast's footprints were perfectly plain in the dust, and he had lumbered along up the path until near the middle of the hillside, where the ground broke away and there were hollows and boulders. Here there had been a windfall, and the dead trees lay among the living, piled across one another in all directions; while between and around them sprouted up a thick growth of young spruces and other evergreens. The trail turned off into the tangled thicket, within which it was almost certain we should find our quarry.

"We could still follow the tracks, by the slight scrapes of the claws on the bark, or by the bent and broken twigs; and we advanced with noiseless caution, slowly climbing over the dead tree trunks and upturned stumps, and not letting a branch rustle or catch on our clothes. When in the middle of the thicket we crossed what was almost a breastwork of fallen logs, and Merrifield, who was leading, passed by the upright stem of a great pine. As soon as he was by it, he sank suddenly on one knee, turning half round, his face fairly aflame with excitement; and as I strode past him, with

my rifle at the ready, there, not ten steps off, was the great bear, slowly rising from his bed among the great spruces. He had heard us, but apparently hardly knew exactly where or what we were, for he reared up on his haunches sideways to us.

"Then he saw us and dropped down again on all fours, the shaggy hair on his neck and shoulders seemed to bristle as he turned toward us. As he sank down on his forefeet I had raised the rifle; his head was bent slightly down, and when I saw the top of the white head fairly between his small, glittering, evil eyes, I pulled trigger. Half rising up, the huge beast fell over on his side in the death throes, the ball having gone into his brain, striking fairly between the eyes, as if the distance had been measured by a carpenter's rule. The whole thing was over in twenty seconds from the time I caught sight of the game; indeed, it was over so quickly that the grizzly did not have time to show fight at all or come a step toward us.

HUGE DIMENSIONS AND WEIGHT.

"It was the first I had ever seen, and I felt not a little proud as I stood over the great brindled bulk which lay stretched out at length in the cool shade of the evergreens. He was a monstrous fellow, much larger than any I have seen since, whether alive or brought in dead by the hunters. As near as we could estimate (for of course we had nothing with which to weigh more than very small portions) he must have weighed about twelve hundred pounds."

Mr. Roosevelt thus describes his ranch-building: "The story-high house of hewn logs is clean and neat, with many rooms, so that one can be alone if one wishes to. The nights in summer are cool and pleasant, and there are plenty of bear-skins and buffalo robes, trophies of our own skill, with which to bid defiance to the bitter cold of winter. In summer time we are not much within doors, for we rise before dawn and work hard enough to be willing to go to bed soon after nightfall.

"The long winter evenings are spent sitting round the hearthstone, while the pine logs roar and crackle, and the men

play checkers or chess, in the fire light. The rifles stand in the corners of the room or rest across the elk antlers which jut out from over the fireplace. From the deer horns ranged along the walls, and thrust into the beams and rafters, hang heavy overcoats of wolf-skin or coon-skin, and otter fur or beaver fur caps and gauntlets. Rough board shelves hold a number of books, without which some of the evenings would be long indeed.

"In the still fall nights, if we lie awake we can listen to the clanging cries of the water-fowl, as their flocks speed southward; and in cold weather the coyotes occasionally come near enough for us to hear their uncanny wailing. The larger wolves, too, now and then join in, with a kind of deep, dismal howling; but this melancholy sound is more often heard when out camping than from the ranch-house. The charm of ranch life comes in its freedom, and the vigorous open-air existence it forces a man to lead."

BENEFITS DERIVED FROM RANCH LIFE.

Mr. Roosevelt smiles when asked about the money he made by his cattle ranches. It is certain he did not amass a fortune and place himself in such a position that he could retire and live on the income of a fortune accumulated on the Western plains. Yet it must not be forgotten that he did not go West merely for money. Fresh air, outdoor exercise and labor, tough muscles and athletic frame, are things that cannot be valued in dollars and cents. Ranch life is good for the man who is always going to be a ranchman; it is no less good for the man who is going to be an author or statesman. Some grand brain work and some great oratorical feats have been performed by men with very muscular hands and ruddy faces.

After Mr. Roosevelt became President, he showed his fondness for the life of a hunter, and on more than one occasion broke loose from his official duties at Washington and fled to the woods for game and recreation. A southwestern journal gives the following account of one of his trips:

"President Roosevelt will be among the bears this afternoon at 4.30, when he reaches Smedes, Miss. A guide employed by

Stuyvesant Fish, president of the Illinois Central Railway, will escort the President into the most likely fastnesses of the cane-brake, and the slaughter will begin if bruin appears. The President hopes that the Mississippi bears will not be as shy as the Virginia turkeys. If they are, he will return to Washington empty handed.

"Colonel Roosevelt arrived on his special train and was met by Stuyvesant Fish and Lieutenant John McElhenny, formerly of the Rough Riders, his fellow hunters. A great crowd greeted the President at the station, where a stop was made only long enough to attach Mr. Fish's private car.

GENERAL HAMPTON'S OLD HUNTING GROUND.

"The place selected for the hunt is some miles from the railroad, and is in the region which was formerly the favorite hunting ground of General Wade Hampton, the famous leader of the Confederate Black Horse Cavalry. General Hampton at one time owned a plantation in this vicinity, and hunted black bear in the cane-brakes with horses and hounds.

"Years ago the President and General Hampton planned a hunt in this region, but it was never made, and when Mr. Fish, who is president of the Illinois Central, proposed the present trip, the President readily assented.

"To one who has hunted grizzlies in the Rockies, black bear are not very big game. But hunting bear with horse and hounds will be a new experience for him. If a bear shall not be secured it will not be the fault of Mr. Fish. He has arranged to have one of the best packs of hounds in the Mississippi delta at the camp.

"The President has with him the hunting outfit used by him for many years in his hunting trips after big game in the neighborhood of his ranch on the Little Missouri, in Dakota, and in the mountains of Idaho, Montana and Colorado. It includes a fringed buckskin, which is worn by the old wilderness hunter, and his favorite Winchester 40-90. With this weapon he has killed many of his hunting trophies. It bears the interesting

scars of one of his battles with a cougar, or mountain lion, in Colorado. In closing with a wounded cat, the President thrust the stock into his mouth. It shows the teeth marks of the enraged animal, and the place where a small piece was literally bitten away.

"His cartridge belt has a hunting knife attached. Most of the bullets are soft-nosed, but a few of them are steel jacketed for penetrating power in case the President should get a chance for a long shot. While thus prepared for wilderness conditions, it is not probable that the President will don his buckskin suit unless he finds that genuine conditions prevail."

The President spent several days in pursuit of bears, but the animals seemed to know that they were in danger, and were uncommonly shy. They even objected to being killed by a president, and Mr. Roosevelt returned to Washington without any bear skins.

CHAPTER V.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S ADVENTURES IN THE WEST.

HARDSHIPS OF FRONTIER LIFE—HARDY COWBOYS—AMUSEMENTS ON THE RANCH—THE SPRING AND FALL ROUND-UP—TROUBLES WITH WILD HERDS—RANCH BUSINESS ON THE WANE—HORACE GREELEY'S FARM—ADVENTURE WITH A BUFFALO—STORY OF ROOSEVELT'S BEAR HUNT IN MISSISSIPPI—HOW HE KILLED AN ELK—EVENING AT THE RANCH HOUSE—LOVER OF BOOKS—ADVANTAGES OF HIS SOJOURN IN DAKOTA—STUDY OF THE INDIAN QUESTION AT SHORT RANGE.

THIS great country of ours affords every variety of climate, from the mild breezes of the sunny South to the freezing blasts of northern New England and the great lakes. Oceans of grain on the vast prairies billow away, when stirred by summer winds, like the waves of a vast sea. A few months later and the prairies are swept by wintry storms that threaten destruction to man and beast. The rich valleys yield their splendid harvests, the verdure disappears and snows, driven by fierce gales, bury out of sight all signs of summer's thrift and beauty.

And even during any one season the fickle climate may play pranks entirely unlooked for, and confront the settlers with troubles for which little or no provision has been made. All guesses and calculations may fail; unexpected storms may deplete the herds, or some subtle disease may break out among the flocks.

The ranchman knows what to expect. His life is an alternation of sweating and shivering, but he becomes indifferent to changes of season and weather, and as he endures the heat of summer, so he braves the cold of winter. Sometimes a howling storm, with sleet and snow, sweeps over the plains; again the air is still, not a breath stirs, but the intense cold, sending the thermometer many degrees below zero, pierces like a Damascus blade. The clear air and intense cold are not so much dreaded as the furious gale, although in either case the man on the plains has a

serious hardship to contend with, and is fortunate if he escapes the clutches of the biting frost.

The cowboy is not supposed to take account of wind or weather. Drenched to the skin by an all-day rain, he flings himself at night on his hard couch, complains of no insomnia, rises at four in the morning, goes about his business and makes light of his hardships. He is seldom the victim of dyspepsia. He would be willing to risk the headache that comes from high living and abominable diet if he could only get that kind of food. He grows hardy, is what you might call "tough," and his powers of endurance resemble those of the old-fashioned Indians, who lived in their native forests.

Life on a ranch is not all labor and no play. To be sure, the hours are long, the work is often hard, the risks to life and limb in breaking wild horses to the bit are many, but the cowboy has his sports and pastimes. Any one who can play a fiddle, or even a jewsharp, or can sing a song, or, best of all, can dance a jig, is a favorite, and can afford an endless amount of amusement.

LOVER OF HARMLESS AMUSEMENTS.

Into all these harmless sports Mr. Roosevelt entered with the zest and enjoyment of a boy. If there was to be a dance in which all the elite from far and near were to appear in their most genteel apparel (or rather costumes) he was expected to open the proceedings and lead the merry-making. Festivities of this description were enjoyed by those who participated in them fully as much as the "four hundred" ever enjoyed any of their public functions.

Nor let it be supposed that the average cowboy has no sense of gentility or propriety. True he can mount a horse with more grace than he can bow to a lady; he can settle disputes without sending his card to the man who has insulted him; he can cut a more attractive figure on his fleet broncho than on the dancing floor; he appears more at ease in his rough riding suit than in "best clothes," but there is an honest, generous, considerate side to his nature, and, as a rule, he is manly and respectful. His

language is not always the most select, and his expletives are original and are apt to be sufficiently forcible to express his meaning; still he is not dumb to good treatment, and he will respond like a man to every manly appeal.

As Mr. Roosevelt knew the character of the men he had to deal with and could adapt himself to all persons and circumstances; he had little difficulty in the management of his ranch. Many things required to be done were both dangerous and difficult. In his book on "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail" Mr. Roosevelt describes a "round-up."

The spot where this particular round-up took place was on the level bottom of a bend in the river. The wagons were scattered among the cotton-wood trees along the side of the river, and the horses were grazing not far away. In one part of the great corral the men were branding calves; every ranch has its own brand or mark and this tells who is the owner. The middle of the bottom was filled with a great herd of cattle and noisy cowboys galloping hither and yon on their fractious steeds.

HOW OWNERS FIND THEIR STOCK.

"As soon as, or even before, the last circle riders have come in and have snatched a few hasty mouthfuls to serve as their mid-day meal, we begin to work the herd—or herds, if the one herd should be of too unwieldly size. The animals are held in a compact bunch, most of the riders forming a ring outside, while a couple from each ranch successively look the herds through and cut out those marked with their own brand. To do good work in cutting out from a herd, not only should the rider be a good horseman, but he should also have a skilful, thoroughly trained horse.

"In cutting out a cow and a calf two men have to work together. As the animals of a brand are cut out they are received and held apart by some rider detailed for the purpose, who is said to be 'holding the cut.' All this time the men holding the herd have their hands full, for some animal is continually trying to break out, when the nearest man flies at it at once and soon brings

it back to its fellows. As soon as all the cows, calves, and whatever else is being gathered have been cut out the rest are driven clear off the ground and turned loose, being headed in the direction contrary to that in which we travel on the following day. Then the riders surround the next herd, the men holding cuts move them up nearer, and the work is begun anew.

HOW BRANDING IS DONE.

"As soon as the brands of cattle are worked and the animals that are to be driven along are put in the day herd, attention is turned to the cows and calves which are already gathered in different bands, consisting each of all the cows of a certain brand and all the calves that are following them. If there is a corral each band is in turn driven into it; if there is none a ring of riders does duty in its place. A fire is built, the irons heated, and a dozen men dismount to, as it is called, 'wrestle' the calves. The best two ropers go in on their horses to catch the latter; one man keeps tally, a couple put on the brands, and the others seize, throw and hold the little unfortunates.

"If there are seventy or eighty calves in a corral the scene is one of the greatest confusion. The ropers spurring and checking the fierce little Texan horses drag the calves up so quickly that a dozen men can hardly hold them; the men with the irons, blackened with soot, run to and fro; the calf-wrestlers, grimy with blood, dust and sweat, work like beavers; while with the voice of a stentor the tally-man shouts out the number and sex of each calf. The dust rises in clouds, and the shouts, cheers, curses and laughter of the men unite with the lowing of the cows and the frantic bleating of the roped calves to make a perfect Babel.

"Now and then an old cow turns vicious and puts every one out of the corral. Or a maverick bull—that is, an unbranded bull—a yearling or a two-year old, is caught, thrown and branded; when he is let up there is sure to be a fine scatter. Down goes his head, and he bolts at the nearest man who makes out of the way at top speed amidst roars of laughter from all of his companions; while the men holding down calves swear savagely as

they dodge charging mavericks, trampling horses, and taut lariats with frantic plunging little beasts at the farther ends."

The round-up here described is a feature of ranch business that tries all the strength and prowess of the men who engage in it. An eastern farmer can go into his pastures and find the cattle so accustomed to the sight of him and so used to his voice, and perhaps his touch, that they do not shun him or make any effort to run away. He can call the cows at night and in a few minutes see them coming down the lane. In the barnyard they seem almost to be a part of the family; they can be driven anywhere; they do not often jump fences and get lost; they can be depended upon for good intentions and are so domesticated that they give little trouble and require little care.

EASTERN FARMERS AND THEIR HERDS.

Such animals are well behaved compared with a great herd on the ranch. A ranch, from the very nature of the place, demoralizes the stock. The animals roam at their own free will; they go and come as they please; generally they go but do not come; if you want them you must chase them; they have very loose and wayward habits, and you may have to travel many miles before you overtake them and make them understand that they are wanted for some special occasion.

The old days of ranching are fast passing and new conditions are controlling the business. Yet the time is still distant when the vast plains of the West will cease to be the recruiting ground for the great droves of cattle needed by Omaha, Kansas City and Chicago for supplying the world with food. One would think that with such boundless pastures and such a world-wide demand the ranchman would easily become a millionaire, but with rare exceptions we never hear of the cattle king. We have had mining kings, lumber kings, merchant princes and railroad kings, but the multi-millionaire who made his fortune on the ranch is yet to be discovered.

The causes of this have been touched upon frequently by Mr. Roosevelt. The wrong man is sometimes on the ranch, a man

who has no experience and has not wit enough to gain any. He can never know what he has not the faculty of learning. Bad management will wreck any business; there are multitudes of men who cannot understand why their business is not a success; it would be if they themselves were a success.

To incompetence must sometimes be added inefficiency, laziness, lack of energy, and the idea that in some unexplained way business will take care of itself, will start at four o'clock in the morning and let the man who pretends to carry it on lie abed until eight. The ranchman who can never get an early start or show that he is wide awake, except when going on a hunting trip, is not likely to tell large stories of the amount of money to be made on a ranch.

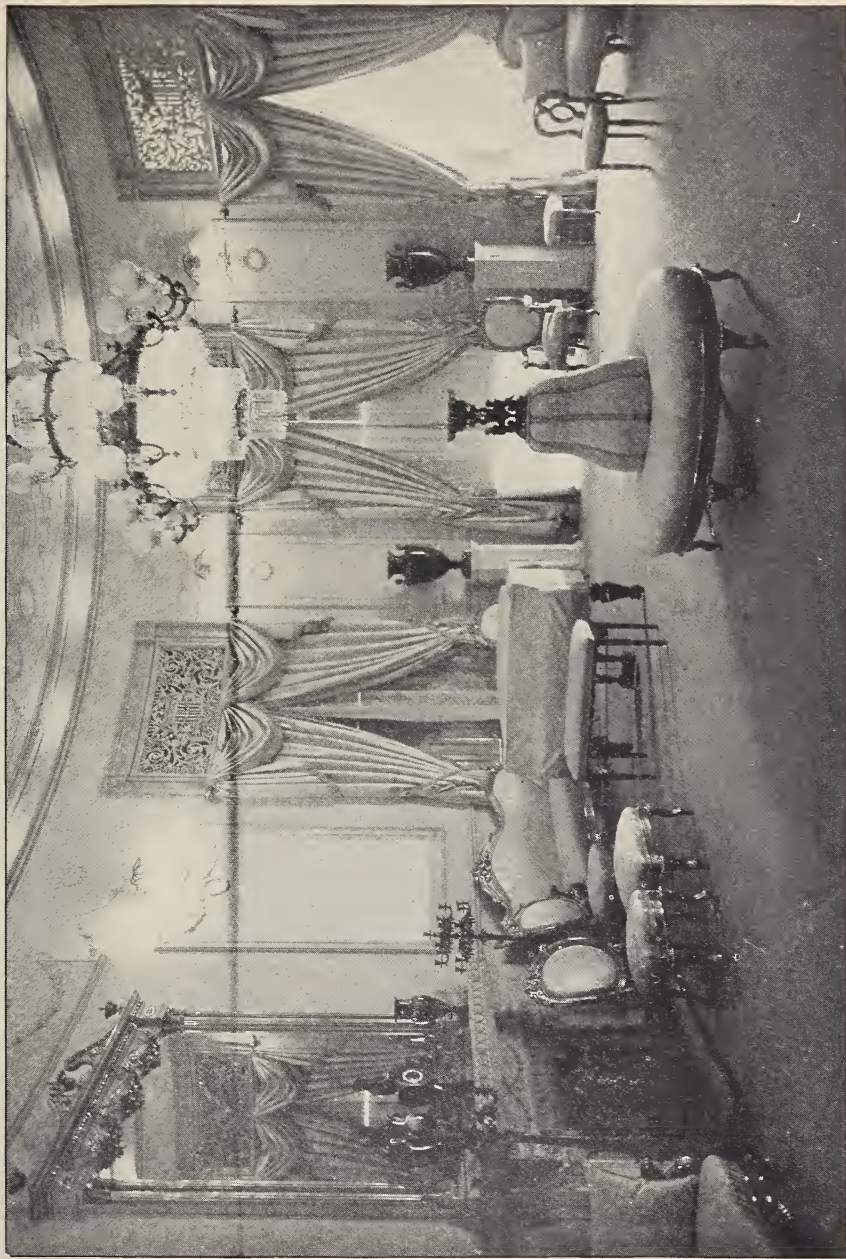
LOSSES THAT CANNOT BE AVOIDED.

But the most serious obstacle the ranchman has to contend with is the losses to his stock that come from causes over which he has no control. He cannot make it rain in summer when fiery drouth is burning up the plains. He cannot stay the storm in winter that buries the earth in snow from four to ten feet deep. He is at the mercy of the elements, and the blasts that sweep down from polar realms have no pity on him.

What, with losses of stock that stray too far to be recovered or die from hunger and starvation, the prospects of large gains are not unmistakably sure.

Horace Greeley wrote a book to tell what he knew about farming. It was a common remark that the reason why Mr. Greeley had a farm was that he had a newspaper. The "Tribune" kept the farm going. What the farm did not do for itself was done by the famous journal, which some one called the Bible of the country people. On this principle any man could have a ranch and raise cattle and horses, but Mr. Roosevelt was slow to maintain that there was boundless wealth to be gained in the Bad Lands.

It may be said in a general way that Mr. Roosevelt enjoyed his life as a ranchman, and thrived on its rough experiences.



THE BLUE ROOM AT THE WHITE HOUSE



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MRS. THEODORE ROOSEVELT



A CABINET MEETING—PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT CONSULTS HIS CABINET ON VITAL QUESTIONS AS THEY ARISE.



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MISS ALICE ROOSEVELT—THE PRESIDENT'S ELDEST DAUGHTER



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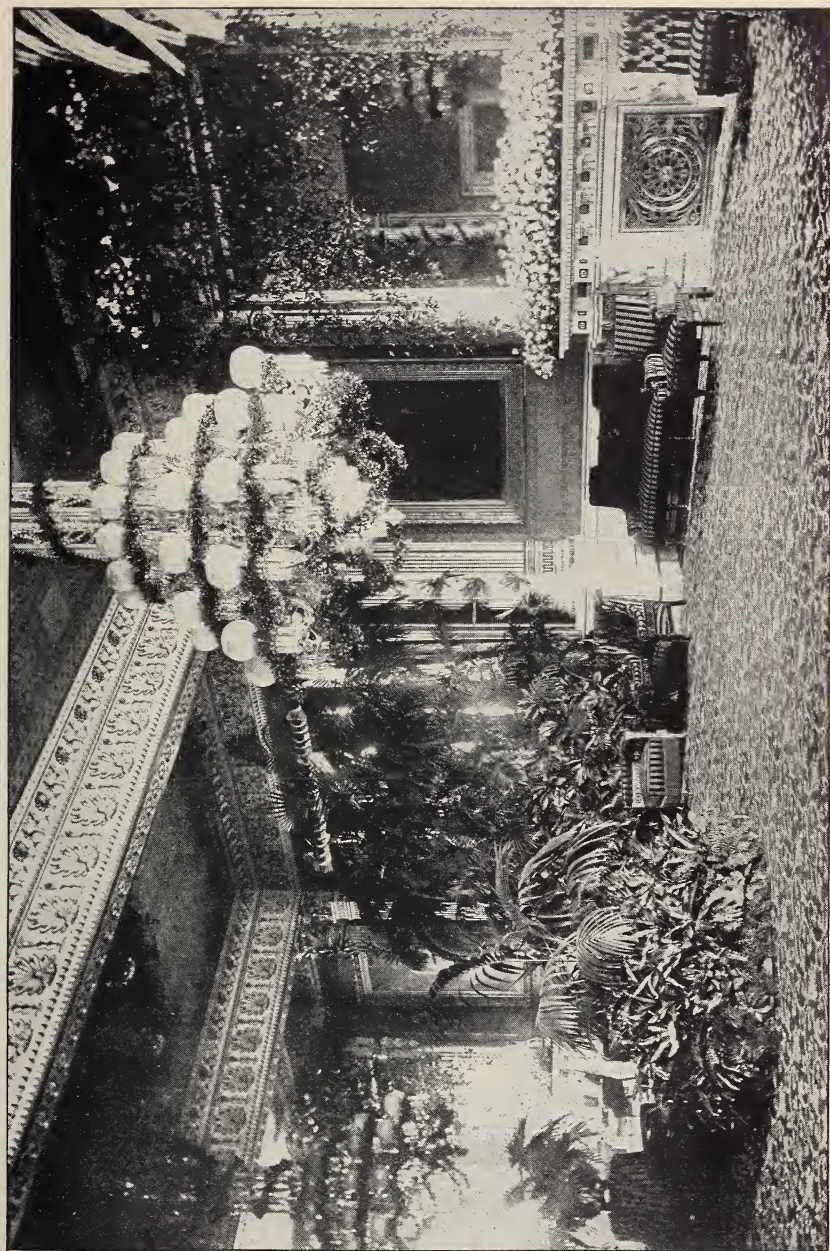
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON HORSEBACK

MR. ROOSEVELT IS AN EXPERT EQUESTRIAN. THIS PHOTOGRAPH SHOWS ONE OF HIS FEATS ON HIS FAVORITE HORSE



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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND FAMILY



EAST ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE DECORATED FOR A RECEPTION



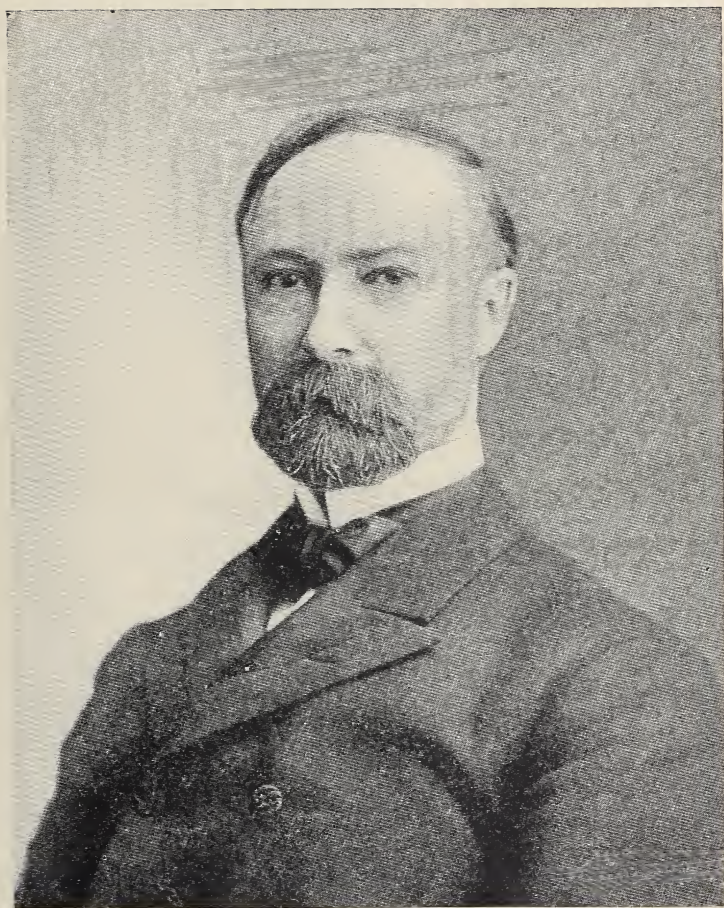
MRS. ROOSEVELT AND BABY QUENTIN



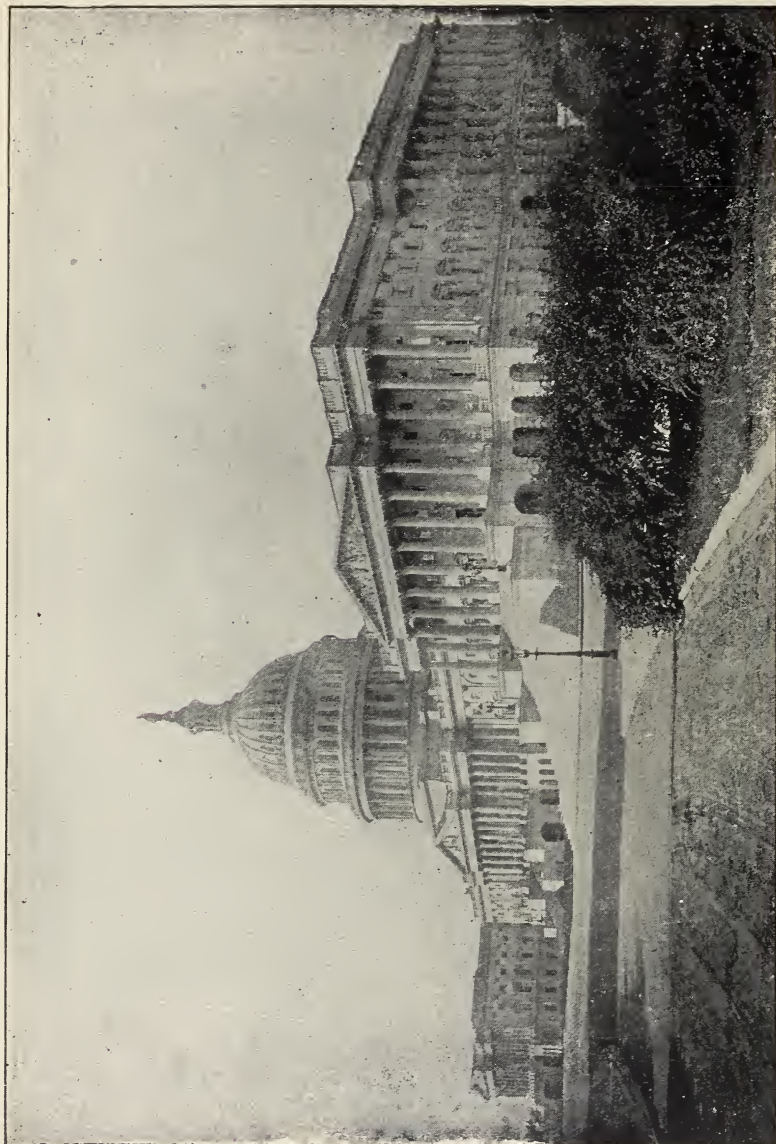
LIBRARY OF THE WHITE HOUSE



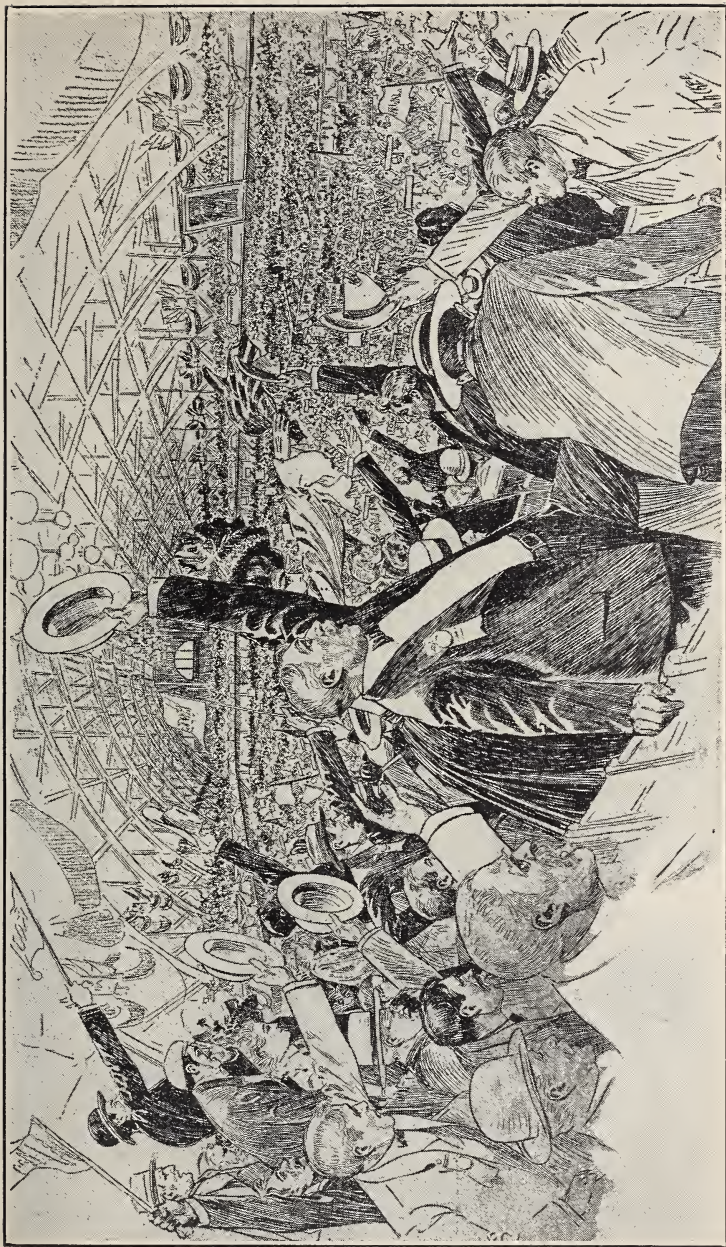
THE WHITE HOUSE—WASHINGTON



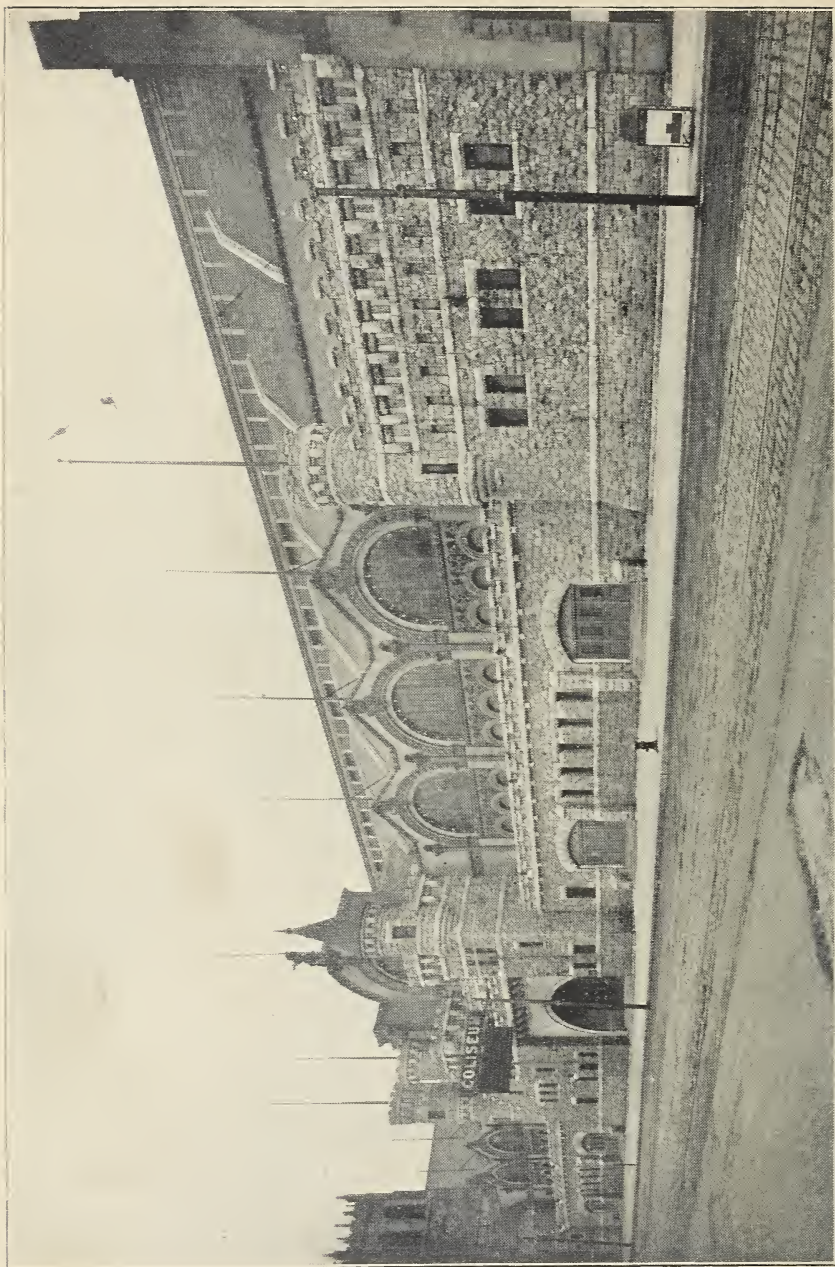
CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON



INTERIOR VIEW OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION AT CHICAGO.
SCENE WHEN ROOSEVELT WAS NOMINATED. THE MULTITUDE ROSE AND CHEERED WILDLY
FOR MANY MINUTES.



COLISEUM BUILDING, CHICAGO, WHERE THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION WAS HELD.

When not fully occupied with the management of his business, he was ready for the adventures that always fall to the lot of the hunter. Reference has already been made to Ferris, his guide, who accompanied him usually on his trips in pursuit of game. When Roosevelt first went to Dakota, buffalo hunting had about ceased. This animal had had his day, and was only occasionally to be met with. Ferris thus describes one of their first excursions:

"It meant hard work to get a buffalo at that time, and whether the thin young man could stand the trip was a question, but Roosevelt was on horseback and he rode better than I did, and could stand just as much knocking about as I could.

"On the first night out, when we were twenty-five or thirty miles from a settlement, we went into camp on the open prairie, with our saddle blankets over us, our horses picketed and the picket ropes tied about the horns of our saddles, which we used for pillows. In the middle of the night there was a rush, our pillows were swept from under our heads and our horses went tearing off over the prairie, frightened by wolves.

OVERTAKES A HUGE BUFFALO.

"Roosevelt was up and off in a minute after the horses.

"On the fourth or fifth day out, I think it was, our horses pricked up their ears and I told Roosevelt there was a buffalo close at hand. We dismounted and advanced to a big 'washout' near, peered over its edge, and there stood a huge buffalo bull, calmly feeding and unaware of our presence.

"'Hit him where that patch of red shows on his side,' said I, 'and you've got him.'

"Roosevelt was cool as a cucumber, took a careful aim and fired. Out came the buffalo from the 'washout,' with blood pouring from his mouth and nose. 'You've shot him,' I shouted, and so it proved, for the buffalo plunged a few steps and fell."

One of the early and useful friends of Roosevelt in the Wild West among the Rough Riders, was Colonel Cody, the famous Buffalo Bill, and many a wild ride they had. One of the most fearless and tireless of riders, Roosevelt was never fond of break-

ing the bucking bronchos, as seen in the shows of his friend on horseback. There were better ways of expending strength, and his plan of life was the useful investment of all his resources.

He went into the cattle business, and started with five hundred steers, and his guide remarks: "He worked for a part of a season as a cowboy. He had his own 'string' of horses, and they were as ugly and ill-tempered as the majority of cow horses. He was not a broncho-breaker, as he has been pictured to be, and he took no unnecessary chances in mounting or endeavoring to tame an especially ugly horse. But he did not shrink from riding his own horses when they cut up the customary capers of mustangs, and although he was sometimes thrown, and on one or two occasions pretty badly bruised and hurt, he stuck to his mounts until he had mastered them."

ROOSEVELT IN PURSUIT OF BEARS.

It will not be amiss in this connection to furnish the reader with an amusing account of one of Mr. Roosevelt's more recent hunting trips in pursuit of bears. The account emanated from Smedes, Miss., to which locality the President went to enjoy a few days in the woods.

"Ho" Collier, the veteran negro swamp guide and bear hunter, related the full story of his four days' experience with President Roosevelt. "Ho" was busily engaged in getting the horses, dogs and hunting outfit aboard a car on the siding at Smedes, to be taken back to his home at Greenville.

Holt Collier is one of the conspicuous figures in the Mississippi delta. His skill with his rifle and his constant attention to the trail for the past forty years have made him perfectly familiar with the ins and outs of the woods and every foot of the delta soil from Vicksburg to Memphis. He was President Roosevelt's personal guide throughout the hunt. Here is his story—the first detailed story of the hunt yet told:

"I know all those gent'men in de party has had a mighty fine time, and as for de President, I never seen a man in all my times of hunting in dese woods what 'joyed a hunt like he did.

He was jes' as happy as a schoolboy, and he certainly is a dead-game sport.

"We started out Thursday, and it took us 'bout till dark to get in camp and get settled good. So on Friday morning, 'fore we started out, Mr. Roosevelt said he was awful anxious to kill a b'ar.

"So when he said dat, I told him dat I was determined for him to get dat chance, and if I had to run a b'ar down and tie him I would see dat he got a chance to get a shot.

"Of course de party all scattered, and we begins to hunt, and somehow I felt like I was a-going to get a big one up, and sho' nuff, I wasn't wrong, 'cause dat b'ar we first started was de biggest he b'ar I ever see or heard tell of for a long time.

"He was a hard one to run down, too. I am here to tell yo' and when I heerd dat rascal breaking through de cane and my dogs hot after him I knew I was a-going to get close after him. I was anxious for some one to ride around and get the President to follow in with us, as I kept on feeling dat he could get a big b'ar 'fore long.

TRYING TO FIND THE PRESIDENT.

"Whar was de President? Why, Lordy, chile, he was a snooking 'round on his own hook in de jungle. Dat man wouldn't be tied to nobody. I done make a terrible noise, so he'd come whar de b'ar war, but whar wuz he?

"When my dogs did run dat b'ar down he went down in a mud hole, and it was kinder thick and hard to get at, so I stood round and didn't shoot, case I wanted 'the Colonel' to hurry up and come in behind me so he could kill the first one.

"I tried my best to get dat big b'ar to tree, but he wouldn't, so I thought he was jes' going to get the best of my pack, so I hit him with the butt of my gun and then throwed my lasso 'bout his neck and made him fast to a willer tree.

"Then they done got de President, and den when he come up, I says, 'Shoot de b'ar, Colonel, he's tied!'

"'Scuse me,' sez Colonel Roosevelt, laffan at de b'ar all tied up dar nice and snug, "'Scuse me,' sez he, 'dat's too easy.'

"De President was sholy sort of contempuse wid de situation, and I feels more liken a mule dan a hunter.

"De President said sumpin', I spect it war from de Bible, 'bout it ain't no use slayin' de helpless. Dere I wuz wif my b'ar done tied up, and I think mighty fast to get out of dat fix.

" 'Stick him,' sez I to Massa Parker, and den I showed him how to do de trick. I tell you, my honey, dat big rascal didn't las' much longer after dat knife went into him.

"I say, Colonel, you watch me close an' you sholy gits a b'ar. Den he lafs and sez, ' All right. Ho, I'll keep an eye onto you.'

"We didn't do no huntin' on Sunday, 'ca'se all of us is 'ligious. It was awful quiet in de camp, as we wus all meditat'in' on de foolishness of life and eatin.' I saw de President mos' every minute, and I do say dat he showed himself to be such a fine, good gentleman dat I was always admirin' of him.

GRANDER THAN A WHITE HOUSE DINNER.

"I tell you we done had a grand dinner, such like dey couldn't possibly have at de White House. How could dey git 'possum and b'ar, which we had wif sweet 'taters dat melt in de President's mouf and mak' him look so happy dat he had a good appetite? Den we had turkey gobbler, and dis nigger too perlite to say dat he eat more dan de President. It done mak's me hungry ag'in when I looks back on dat dinner.

"De President says befoah dinner dat he wants to go on a little stroll in de woods. Den one of de gentlemen sez to de President: ' Mistoo President, why doan you take you gun wid you?'

"De President he shakes his head an' walks away. He say: ' No; I ain't been alone since a long time gone, an' I'se goin' be alone for a little while now.'

"I seed what he done. He goes off an' sits down by de crick, an' looks into de water an' at de woods. Spec' he was thinkin', too, but I couldn't tell. Den he gits up an' comes in an' settles down to business a-eatin' of de 'possum an' de b'ar an' de taters an' de gobbler, an' looks like he was wholly happy.

"De President cheer me up, an' de rest, too. He tells me,

just like it was nuffin', 'bout some mighty fine hunts he done had over in de Rockies, 'bout shootin' lions and moose. He say he had some mighty good times, 'but Ho!' he say, 'I gwine tell dat he ain' never had no nicer time anywhere den right here in dese Misippy woods.' Dat's de very words de Colonel sez to me.

"Den he talked to de gentlemen 'bout various things, but I ain't gwine tell you dat, 'case we was talkin' private.

"De same hoodoo was on us de third day, but I done feel sure de President gits a shot at a b'ar. He sholy did nearly git one dat he chased all de way from 8 to 3 o'clock.

"Den what you think dat scoun'rel b'ar do? He breaks away from de dogs and goes whoppin' acrost a ribber, and Ho knows he is done gone for good. Den I tole de gentlemen dere wan't no use goin' no furdur.

CAMP A DELIGHTFUL PLACE.

"I spec,' sez de President, laffin', 'dat we ain't goin' git no b'ar dis trip.'

"De President he took de skull of the big b'ar dat Mister Parker stick, and he say dat he take dat skull home to keep. When we gets ready to leave de camp de President was de most jolly of all de gentlemen. Dey all say we hates to leave his camp and de President say it was a d-e-l-i-g-h-t-f-u-l place, jes' like dat.

"Every people 'round here jes' like dat Colonel Roosevelt first class. He talk wif all de folks at Smedes Station, and maiks 'em his good friends.

"De ride from de camp to Smedes was de grandest dat I ever seen down hyar. Colonel Roosevelt dashed off in de lead, and I am hyar to tell you dat he set a hot pace for dem odder gentlemen. We made de whole trip 'round de woods in jes' forty minutes, as we stopped three minutes at Jackson's.

"I wants to tell you dat I hated mightily to see de President go 'way, and so did all de odders down hyar. I kin only say dat he's the finest No'the'n gentleman I ever met."

Ho said that he had lost only two of his hunting dogs, but

added mournfully that Old Remus, his champion dog, was "all swole up wid de dropsy," and probably would not live long.

Collier is known from Memphis to New Orleans for his trustworthiness. He was born in Jefferson county, three miles from Fayette, and when he grew up, during the Civil War, he was a slave, owned by Howell Hines, a prominent man of the South in those times.

Collier's grandfather, Harrison Collier, went to the battle of New Orleans with General Jackson and Thomas Hines.

Holt was only thirteen years of age when he killed his first bear, while he and his master were out on a hunt in the same region where the President went for game.

CAPTURE OF A BIG ELK.

Mr. Roosevelt narrates the killing of an elk near his ranch, "probably the last of his race that will ever be found in our neighborhood. It was just before the fall round-up. An old hunter, who was under some obligation to me, told me that he had shot a cow elk and had seen the tracks of one or two others not more than twenty-five miles off, in a place where the cattle rarely wandered. Such a chance was not to be neglected; and, on the first free day, one or my Elk-horn foremen, Will Dow by name, and myself, took our hunting horses and started off, accompanied by the ranch wagon, in the direction of the probable haunts of the doomed deer.

"Towards nightfall we struck a deep spring pool, near by the remains of an old Indian encampment. It was at the head of a great basin, several miles across, in which we believed the game to lie. The wagon was halted and we pitched camp; there was plenty of dead wood, and soon the venison steaks were broiling over the coals raked from beneath the crackling cotton-wood logs, while in the narrow valley the ponies grazed almost within the circle of the flickering fire-light. It was in the cool and pleasant month of September; and long after going to bed we lay awake under the blankets watching the stars that on clear nights always shine with such intense brightness over the lonely Western plains.

"We were up and off by the gray in the morning. It was a beautiful hunting day; the sundogs hung in the red dawn; the wind hardly stirred over the crisp grass; and though the sky was cloudless yet the weather had that queer, smoky, hazy look that it is most apt to take on during the time of the Indian summer. From a high spur of the table-land we looked out far and wide over a great stretch of broken country, the brown of whose hills and valleys was varied everywhere by patches of dull red and vivid yellow, tokens that the trees were already putting on the dress with which they greet the mortal ripening of the year.

THE GAME SIGHTED AT LAST.

"The deep and narrow but smooth ravines running up towards the edges of the plateaus were heavily wooded, the bright green tree-tops rising to a height they rarely reach in the barren plains-country; and the rocky sides of the sheer gorges were clad with a thick growth of dwarfed cedars, while here and there the trailing Virginia creepers burned crimson among their sombre masses.

"We hunted stealthily up-wind, across the line of the heavily timbered coulissee. We soon saw traces of our quarry; old tracks at first, and then the fresh footprints of a single elk—a bull, judging by the size—which had come down to drink at a miry alkali pool, its feet slipping so as to leave the marks of the false hoofs in the soft soil. We hunted with painstaking and noiseless care for many hours; at last as I led old Manitou up to look over the edge of a narrow ravine, there was a crash and movement in the timber below me, and immediately afterwards I caught a glimpse of a great bull elk trotting up through the young trees as he gallantly breasted the steep hill-side opposite.

"When clear of the woods, and directly across the valley from me, he stopped and turned half round, throwing his head in the air to gaze for a moment at the intruder. My bullet struck too far back, but, nevertheless, made a deadly wound, and the elk went over the crest of the hill at a wild, plunging gallop. We followed the bloody trail for a quarter of a mile, and found him dead in a

thicket. Though of large size, he yet had but small antlers, with few points."

There is an old Latin saying that "they do not change their characters who change their skies." To put it tersely, a man takes himself with him wherever he goes. When he crosses a river or a State line he does not leave behind him any of his personal traits. Mr. Roosevelt in the Bad Lands was in nowise different from what he had been in the East, the only modification being such as naturally grew out of new surroundings. His scholarly tendencies might have seemed grotesque on a ranch among cowboys and hunters, but he could not leave one Roosevelt in New York and develop another and different Roosevelt in the West.

KEEPS CLOSE COMPANY WITH BOOKS.

Having been a man of books he could not obliterate his personality and suddenly become a man of cattle and horses. The books must come in somewhere. To him there was nothing incompatible between hunting bears and antelope and hunting gems in the English classics. Books were his companions; while he communed with steep buttes, wild canyons and boundless prairies, he kept company with great minds and made friends of their brilliant thoughts. There was no daily mail; the letter carrier might not arrive oftner than once a week, but his coming was an advent, for he was sure to bring letters from prominent men and the latest and best issues of the publishers.

"Rough board shelves," says Mr. Roosevelt, in his charming "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman," "hold a number of books without which some of the evenings would be long indeed. No ranchman who loves sport"—and nearly every one of them does—"can afford to be without Van Dyke's 'Still Hunter,' Dodge's 'Plains of the Great West,' or Caton's 'Deer and Antelope of America'; and Cones's 'Birds of the Northwest' will be valued if he cares at all for natural history. As for Irving, Hawthorne, Cooper, Lowell and the other standbys, I suppose no man, either East or West, would willingly be long without them. And for lighter reading there are dreamy Ik Marvel, Burroughs' breezy

pages, and the quaint, pathetic character sketches of the Southern writers, Cable, Craddock, Macon, Joel Chandler Harris, and sweet Sherwood Bonner. And when one is in the Bad Lands, he feels as if they somehow look just exactly as Poe's tales and poems sound."

Probably no other ranchman in all the Northwest had a stock of belongings similar to Roosevelt's. College bred men are not often found in the Bad Lands; they prefer to exhibit their culture in communities nearer the great centres of civilization and refinement. No one would be likely to obtain a university education to enable him to raise cattle and tame wild mustangs. Roosevelt, the educated cowboy, required the fellowship of books.

RECREATION AFTER THE DAY'S LABORS.

Imagine him, after a hard day's work of riding, hunting or rounding up his herds, seated in his rude yet picturesque apartment at night, eagerly perusing some historical work or volume of poems, magazine of current literature, or treatise on the animals of our hemisphere. Silence that is unbroken favors his studious frame of mind, and with evident relish he turns the pages until the fatigues of the day and the lateness of the hour furnish suggestions of sleep and the rest that comes as a blessed compensation to honest toil.

It is not difficult to sum up the advantages derived by Mr. Roosevelt from his sojourn in Dakota. He became imbued with the Western spirit. It is the spirit that knows nothing about red tape. It goes ahead and does things. There is a freedom about the great West that is the forerunner of achievement. Men do not grow old discussing how things should be done. Before you are aware of what is going on the thing is accomplished.

Somewhat of that go-ahead, impetuous spirit manifested by Mr. Roosevelt appears to have been imbibed from his life on the ranch. And this disposition is one secret of his wonderful popularity in the Western States. He is a man after their own heart, a man the people can understand and with whom they are in perfect sympathy. He never imagined when he went West that he

was taking a step which would qualify him so effectually for the office he now occupies, one that cannot in any sense be limited to any one section of the country. A President should be so constituted that he can be in close touch with all parts of the Union.

It is but natural that Mr. Roosevelt's most devoted followers and friends should be found among the breezy spirits of the great West. When he called for a regiment of Rough Riders at the outbreak of our war with Spain, it was easy enough to enlist the men; Roosevelt was to be the lieutenant colonel.

It is further to be noted that his western life gave him much information on the Indian problem, and furnished him materials for thoroughly investigating this question and reaching an intelligent conclusion.

EQUAL RIGHTS AND JUSTICE TO ALL.

The white men had as good a claim to land as the Indians, for it was government land, and by the Homestead Law any settler could secure 160 acres and along with it a valid title. There was no good reason why an Indian should lay claim to a whole county, compared with the size of which the white man's farm was nothing more than an Irishman's garden patch.

In his usual vigorous way Mr. Roosevelt says: "The Indians should be treated in just the same way that we treat the white settlers. Give each his claim to a quarter-section. If, as generally happens, he should decline this, then let him share the fate of the thousands of white hunters who have lived on the game that the settlement of the country has exterminated, and let him, like these whites who will not work, perish from the face of the earth which he encumbers.

"The doctrine seems merciless, and so it is. But it is just and rational, for all that. It does not do to be too merciful to the few at the cost of justice to the many. The cattlemen at least keep herds and build houses on the land. Yet I would not for a moment debar settlers from the right of entry to the cattle country though their coming in means the destruction of us and our industry."

CHAPTER VI.

MR. ROOSEVELT IN NATIONAL POLITICS.

PROMINENT FIGURE IN NATIONAL CONVENTION AT CHICAGO—LEADER OF THE NEW YORK DELEGATION—FAVORS A COLORED REPUBLICAN FOR TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN—HON. GEORGE W. CURTIS—PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION—NOMINATION OF JAMES G. BLAINE FOR THE PRESIDENCY—"BOLTERS" IN THE NEW YORK DELEGATION—MR. ROOSEVELT STANDS BY HIS PARTY—VIEWS ON GOOD CITIZENSHIP—WHAT WAS SAID OF HIM BY HON. ANDREW D. WHITE.

THE first time Mr. Roosevelt was brought prominently before the whole country was in the Republican National Convention of 1884. The part he acted on this occasion was so characteristic of the man, and the attention he drew to himself was so marked that it deserves special notice. At this time he was only twenty-six years old, yet his career at Albany had been so conspicuous that the older men of the party had begun to have confidence in his integrity and sound judgment, and they naturally looked to him as a leader. He was at the head of the republican delegation from New York in the convention that nominated Mr. Blaine for the presidency, although he did not favor the nomination for reasons that appeared to himself justifiable and sufficient.

The National Republican Committee proposed Hon. Powell Clayton, of Arkansas, as temporary chairman. This nomination was meant as a compliment to the republicans of the South, but it did not meet the approval of some of the delegates, especially those from New England. Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts, declared it was admissible to revise the committee's suggestion, and without wishing to create any contest, but considering what action would have the best political effect, he moved to substitute the name of Hon. John R. Lynch, of Mississippi, the famous representative of the colored race.

The question was now fairly before the convention as to whether the honor of temporary chairman should be given to a white or colored Republican. Mr. George William Curtis, of New York, said: "In the person of Mr. Lynch, we offer you a representative of those people who, in great part, and at unspeakable cost, constitute the Republican party and the citizens whom he represents."

Mr. Ben F. Prentiss, of Missouri, said he entertained the idea that a refusal to endorse the recommendation of the National Committee would go forth as a stigma upon General Powell Clayton. He said: "Go cautiously, gentlemen, for we would not succeed in placing a more fitting servant in the chair than General Powell Clayton." At this point the official proceedings of the convention read as follows :

CHOICE OF CHAIRMAN BY THE CONVENTION.

"Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, of New York—I trust that the motion made by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Lodge) will be adopted, and that we will select as chairman of this convention that representative Republican, Mr. Lynch, of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, it has been said by the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Stewart) that it is without precedent to reverse the action of the National Committee. Who has not known numerous instances where the action of the State Committee has been reversed by the State Convention? Not one of us but has known such instances.

"Now there are, as I understand it, but two delegates to this convention who have seats on the National Committee, and I hold it to be derogatory to our honor, to our capacity of self-government, to say that we must accept the nomination of a presiding officer by another body, and that our hands are tied and we dare not reverse its action.

"Now, one word more. I trust that the vote will be taken by individual members, and not by States. Let each man stand accountable to those he represents for his vote. Let no man be able to shelter himself behind the shield of his State. What we

say is, that one of the cardinal doctrines of the American political government is the accountability of each man to his people, and let each man stand up here and cast his vote, and then go home and abide by what he has done.

"It is now, Mr. Chairman, less than a quarter of a century since, in this city, the great Republican party for the first time organized for victory, and nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, who broke the fetters of the slave and rent them asunder forever. It is a fitting thing for us to choose to preside over this convention one of that race whose right to sit within these walls is due to the blood and the treasure so lavishly spent by the founders of the Republican party. And it is but a further vindication of the principles for which the Republican party so long struggled. I trust that the Hon. Mr. Lynch will be elected Temporary Chairman of this convention."

BOUND TO SUPPORT THE NOMINEE.

Mr. Roosevelt succeeded in having the roll called, and at the end of it General Clayton, who had been absent when the State of Arkansas voted, arose and said he desired to vote for Mr. Lynch. The record was made and the vote stood, Lynch, 424; Clayton, 384. When the vote had been declared, upon motion of General Clayton, the nomination of Mr. Lynch was made unanimous.

Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, was the member from that State of the Committee on Resolutions, and after the regular report, one was introduced in the convention, stating that all members were bound in honor to support the nominee of the convention.

George A. Knight, of California, hoped that "No honest Republican would dare to stand on the floor of the convention and vote down that resolution." He said there were already whisperings in the air that "men who once stood high in the Republican party, openly avowed they would not support one man if he be nominated by the convention." The reference was to Mr. Blaine as the nominee, and to Mr. Curtis, of New York, as one who might be a bolter. There was no authority for saying so; but there

were expressions of opinion to the effect that he would in any event be against Mr. Blaine, and he was pointedly indicated when Mr. Knight said: "Let all those, be they editors of newspapers or conducting great periodical journals, who refuse to support the nominee let them be branded, that they not only come here and violate the implied faith that was put in them, but the direct and honest convictions of the convention expressed by direct vote upon that subject."

ELOQUENT SPEECH BY MR. CURTIS OF NEW YORK.

Mr. Curtis, touched by the remark of Mr. Knight, took the floor, and said: "A Republican and a free man I came to this convention. By the grace of God, a Republican and a free man I will go out of this convention." He then recited the recall of Joshua R. Giddings, twenty-four years before, when he was retiring from the convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln, giving this personal incident of Giddings' movement to pass out of the convention: "As he passed my chair, and I reached out my hand (I was wellnigh a boy, and unknown to him), I said, 'Sir, where are you going?' He said to me, 'Young man, I am going out of this convention, for I find no place in a Republican convention for an original anti-slavery man like me.'" Mr. Giddings yielded to persuasion and took his seat, as Mr. Curtis told it, "by a universal roar of assent."

Mr. Curtis added: "The gentleman last upon the floor says that he dares any man upon the floor to vote against that resolution; I say to him, in reply, that the practical man has to do his part in the maintenance of the solid integrity of the political organization to which he is attached; that the presentation of such a resolution in such a convention as this is a stigma, is an insult, to every honorable member who sits here.

"Ah, Mr. Chairman, this question is not a new question. In precisely, if I do not mistake, the same terms in which this is couched, it was brought up in the last Republican convention. And a man from West Virginia—I honor his name—that man said, in the face of the roar of the gallery, in the face of all

dissent—Mr. Campbell, of West Virginia—‘Hold ! I am a Republican who carries his sovereignty under his own hat.’ Now, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Campbell’s position in that convention was supported by the wise reflection and afterthought of the Republican convention of 1880, under the lead of the great immortal leader, whose face confronts us here—James A. Garfield, of Ohio—under the lead of Garfield I remind my friend from California, the convention, in taking its action, induced the gentleman who represented the resolution to withdraw the resolution from the consideration of the convention.

NO PLEDGES DEMANDED BY THE CONVENTION.

“Now, sir, in the light of the character of the Republican party, in the light of the action of the last Republican convention, the first convention which I have known in which such a pledge was required of candidates or the members, I ask this convention—mindful of all that hangs upon the wisdom, the moderation, the tolerance, the patriotism of our action—I beg this convention to remember Lincoln, to remember Garfield, to remember the very vital principles of the Republican party, and assume that every man here is an honest and an honorable man ; and vote down this resolution, which should never have appeared in a Republican convention, as unworthy to be ratified by this concourse of free men that I see before me.”

Mr. Dolph, of Oregon, moved to lay the resolution on the table. Mr. Hawkins, of Tennessee, who had introduced it, said : “Before the vote on that resolution shall be taken, I wish to withdraw it ; it was voted for in the last convention by Chester A. Arthur and James A. Garfield.”

When the convention had under consideration the adoption of its rules, Mr. Thurston, of Nebraska, desired the rule read regarding the manner of balloting, stating it was not understood what number of votes was necessary to nominate. After some cross-firing, there was a movement that the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business should be adopted. The official report contains the following :

"Mr. Roosevelt, of New York—Will the gentleman give way for one moment for a question for information?"

"The President—Does the gentleman yield?"

"Mr. Bayne—I do not yield my motion. I will yield to the inquiry of the gentleman from New York.

"The President—The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves the adoption of the report, and upon that motion calls for the previous question.

ROOSEVELT DESIRES INFORMATION.

"Mr. Roosevelt—The gentleman has given way to me for a question for information. I thank the gentleman for his courtesy. My question for information is, Has there not been a minority report prepared or presented, as I certainly understood there was to be by certain members of the committee, looking to reorganization of the representation in this convention—in the next convention? I did not understand, from the reading of the rules, and neither did several of the members who are round about me, what provisions, if any, were made for the representation of Republicans in future National Conventions; but I know that there had been a strong feeling among certain members of the committee itself, as well as among the convention at large, that there should be some reorganization by which the number of delegates to the next convention should be more nearly proportionate to the Republican votes cast in their respective States; and I merely rose to ask if any such minority report had been presented."

"Mr. Parks—I stated, when I made my report, that the committee had withheld the report upon that resolution, and would make it as soon as the minority could prepare their report.

"Mr. Roosevelt—I did not understand that, and I did not distinctly hear the remarks made by the gentleman from California when he first got up. I withdraw the question."

When the platform reported to the convention, the record reads:

"Mr. Bayne, of Pennsylvania—I would like to inquire of the

Chair whether the Committee on Resolutions is ready to report.

"The President (Mr. McKinley of Ohio, in the chair)—The report of the Committee on Resolutions is ready; and if Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, will take the chair, I will read the report of the committee.

"Mr. Grow took the chair and said :—The Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions will now report.

"Mr. McKinley, of Ohio—I am directed by the unanimous vote of the Committee on Resolutions to present the following report."

William McKinley was Chairman, and William Walter Phelps, Secretary, of the Platform Committee.

SPECIMENS OF THRILLING ORATORY.

The nominating speeches were splendid specimens of oratory. The first was the presentation of the name of General Hawley, of Connecticut, by Mr. Brandgee. The second was the nomination of John A. Logan, the record says, by "Mr. Shelby M. Cullom, who came to the platform amid great applause."

The third nomination was by Judge West, of Ohio, who presented the name of James G. Blaine. The late Senator Cushman K. Davis, of Minnesota, seconded the nomination of Blaine. Colonel William Cassius Goodlow, of Kentucky, also seconded Mr. Blaine's nomination; and Mr. Thomas C. Platt, of New York, seconded also the nomination of Mr. Blaine, saying he did so with pleasure, believing that Blaine's turn had come, that expediency and justice demanded the nomination of Blaine, and the Republican people of the Republican States that must give the Republican majorities, wanted him. Mr. Galusha A. Grow also seconded the nomination.

Mr. Martin I. Townsend, when New York was called, nominated Chester A. Arthur. Mr. Bingham, of Pennsylvania, seconded the nomination of Arthur. Mr. Lynch, of Mississippi, and Mr. Winston, of North Carolina, and Mr. Pinchback, of Louisiana, seconded the nomination of Arthur.

Mr. Foraker, of Ohio, nominated John Sherman. Mr. Holt, of Kentucky, seconded the nomination of Sherman.

Mr. J. D. Long, of Massachusetts, nominated George F. Edmunds; and Mr. George William Curtis, of New York, seconded the nomination. The speeches of Mr. Long and Curtis were understood to be especially opposed to Mr. Blaine.

Governor Long said of Senator Edmunds: "Calumny dare not assail him; or if it dared, recoils as from a galvanic shock. Against no other candidate can less be said than against him. For no other man could more be said."

AN HONORED CITIZEN OF THE REPUBLIC.

"I stand here, Mr. President, honored, though it were alone, with the duty of presenting his name to this convention. But it is not I, it is not the State nor the delegates whom I here represent, who present that name to you. It is presented by uncounted numbers of our fellow citizens, good men and true, all over this land, who only await this nomination, to spring to the swift, hearty work of his election. It is presented by an intelligent press from Maine to California, representing a healthy public sentiment and an advanced public demand.

"It is the name of one whose letter of acceptance as an unsolicited honor, will constitute all the machinery he will have to put into its procurement. It is the name which in itself is a guarantee of inflexible honesty in government, and of the best and wisest cabinet the country can afford, with no man in it greater than its head. It is a guarantee of appointment to office, fit, clean, and disinterested all the way through; a guarantee of an administration which I believe, and which in your hearts you know, will realize, not only at home but abroad, the very highest conceptions of American citizenship.

"It is the name, too, which will carry over all the land a grateful feeling of serenity and security, like the benignant promise of a perfect day in June. It will be as wholesome and refreshing as the Green Mountains of the native State of him who bears it. Their summits tower not higher than his worth; their

foundations are not firmer than his convictions and truth ; the green and prolific slopes that grow great harvests at their feet are not richer than the fruitage of his long and lofty labors in the service of his country.

“Honest and capable, unexceptionable and fit, the best and the most available, the very staunchest of the old Republican guard, the most unflinching of American patriots, with the kindly heart of a courteous gentleman, as well as the robust, rugged mind of a great statesman, yet is he not more sternly just in the halls of Congress than tender in that sanctuary of the American heart, the American home.

“A man of no class, no caste, no pretense, but a man of the people, East, West, North, South, because a representative of their homeliest, plainest and best characteristics. Massachusetts, enthusiastically leaping her own borders, commends and nominates him, to this great Republican Convention, as the man it seeks, as the man of its instinctive and hearty choice, as the one man whom its constituents everywhere will hail with an unbroken shout, not only of satisfaction, but of relief.

A RECORD OF GRAND ACHIEVEMENTS.

“Gentlemen, I nominate, as the Republican candidate for the next President of the United States, the Honorable—aye! the Honorable George F. Edmunds, of Vermont.”

Mr. George William Curtis, of New York—“Mr. President and Gentlemen : I shall not repeat to you the splendid story of the Republican party ; a story that we never tire of telling ; that our children will never tire of hearing ; a story which is written upon the heart of every American citizen, because it recounts greater services for liberty, for the country, for mankind, than those of any party in any other nation, at any other period of time.

“And what is the secret of this unparalleled history ? It is simply that the Republican party has been always the party of the best instincts, of the highest desires of the American people. This is its special glory. It has represented the American

instinct of nationality, American patriotism, and American devotion to liberty.

"Fellow Republicans, we have learned, and many of you whom our hearts salute, have learned upon fields more peaceful than this, that our foe is not a foe to be despised. He will feel our lines to find our weakest point. He will search the work of this convention with electric light. He will try us by our candidate. And, therefore, the man to whom we commit the banner—the banner that Abraham Lincoln bore—must be, like Abraham Lincoln, a knight indeed; and like the old knight, a 'knight without fear and without reproach.'

WHAT IS REQUIRED IN A GOOD PRESIDENT.

"He must be a statesman, identified with every measure of the great Republican past, a pioneer in every measure of its future of reform; and in himself the pledge that the party will not only put his face forward, but will set its foot forward; and a pledge, also, that that mighty foot will trample and crush and utterly destroy whatever disgraces the public services, whatever defiles the Republican name, whatever defeats the just expectation of the country and of the Republican party."

Through all the exciting proceedings of the convention Mr. Roosevelt was calm and deliberate, speaking only at critical points, and no one, although twice his age, was listened to more attentively. His delegation was from a pivotal State. New York would have the deciding of the approaching election, and with deep concern and an earnest determination to adopt the platform and make nominations that would be best for the party, the proceedings were carried to a conclusion.

Mr. Curtis was scholarly, polished, easy and graceful, a man of deep and radical convictions, and rather disposed to treat impatiently those who saw fit to differ from him.

On the other hand, young Roosevelt was forcible almost to bluntness, equally sincere and honest in his convictions, and exhibited at all times the character of a gentleman whose good breeding and native courtesy made him tolerant of the opinions

of others and ready to show even his rankest opponent every possible consideration. His strength and ability were recognized by all the members of the Convention, and predictions were then made concerning the future careers of himself and Mr. Lodge which have since been brilliantly fulfilled.

The outcome of the Convention was the unanimous nomination of Mr. Blaine. The few who supported John Sherman and Senator Edmunds were expected to fall in heartily with the decision of the majority. Most of them did, but a coterie of reformers and radicals from New York, appearing to think they constituted the Convention, went away feeling very sore and firmly persuaded that more than nine-tenths of the delegates were idiots.

"So you couldn't agree on a verdict?" said a man to another who had been serving on a jury. "You must have had a lot of fools on that jury."

"That is just what I told the other eleven," said the man.

VOTED FOR AN EMINENT STATESMAN.

Mr. Roosevelt voted for George F. Edmunds, of Vermont, believing him to be a most able statesman, a man of great capacity and integrity, fully abreast of all the noble ideals of the Republican party, and as incorruptible as sunlight. The Convention chose to nominate the "Plumed Knight." Mr. Roosevelt bowed to the will of the majority. He had no thought of resisting the decision that was not in accord with his own ideas and convictions. Mr. Curtis and the men of his ilk evidently went to Chicago to tell seven or eight hundred delegates how to vote; it did not occur to them that the seven or eight hundred could tell them how to vote.

While Mr. Roosevelt was a party man, he was nevertheless an independent. He would break from his party if there were imperative reasons for doing it; and on the same principle he would act with his party when he considered it best to do so. He has always said he did not consider party allegiance among the Ten Commandments; still he believes in organization, and that a

man should belong to a party organization and act with it unless he can best serve the public good by doing otherwise.

"There are times," he said, "when it may be the duty of a man to break with his party, and there are other times when it may be his duty to stand by his party, even though, on some points, he thinks that party wrong. If we had not party allegiance, our politics would become mere windy anarchy, and, under present conditions, our government would hardly continue at all. If we had no independence, we should always be running the risk of the most degraded kind of despotism—the despotism of the party boss and the party machine."

Says one of his biographers :

"In local affairs, when it comes to a question of simple right and wrong, Mr. Roosevelt recognizes no loyalty to party, and he declares with vehemence that national politics never should be allowed to interfere with municipal or local government, nor with the disposition of offices in which efficiency and honesty are the only requirements."

POLITICS OF FRAUD AND TREACHERY.

Somewhere in one of his essays or addresses, he says: "In the long run, politics of fraud and treachery and foulness are unpractical politics, and the most practical of all politicians is the politician who is clean and decent and upright. Therefore, the man who wishes to do good in his community must go into active political life. If he is a Republican, let him join his local Republican association; if he is a Democrat, the Democratic association; if an Independent, then let him put himself in touch with those who think as he does. Progress is accomplished by the man who does these things and not by the man who talks about how they ought or ought not to be done."

Continuing, his biographer says :

"Defeated with Curtis and the other New Yorkers in their fight against Blaine, Mr. Roosevelt saw no reason to sulk in his tent. Mr. Curtis and the other Mugwumps returned to New York, and upon the nomination of Grover Cleveland by the Demo-

cratic National Convention, the 'pure white souls of Mugwumpers,' led by the then editor of 'Harper's Weekly,' deserted the flag of their party, never to return again as men among men. Mr. Roosevelt, desirous of acting rightly in the premises, left Chicago for Dakota, where he had a short time before acquired his ranch property, there to ponder and think over the situation.

"He returned to New York and entered the campaign with his mind made up for Blaine; not that he looked upon him as the ideal candidate, but that he held him to be a better candidate than his comparatively untrained opponent, and his party to be a better party than the Democracy. He took an active part in the canvass which resulted in Blaine's defeat. This notable campaign was doubtless the turning point in Mr. Roosevelt's career. The world hates a skulker, and had he joined the New York Mugwumps against Blaine, his easy, quiet political death would have resulted."

HIS NATIONAL FAME.

Mr. Roosevelt was now more than a local celebrity; he stood in the eye of the nation; he was a coming man, young as he was; in fact he had "come" already. The grave and reverend fathers of his party were a little timid and thought he ought to be counseled not to go too fast, not to be rash or impetuous, and to preserve that even balance without which there can, in the long run, be no such thing as political preferment.

But they were compelled to admit that he was wise beyond his years; he was fearless and independent, and while he was always ready to listen to advice, there was a vague impression among the older heads that he was about as competent to advise them as they were to direct him. He had clear and well-defined views on national questions, and never gave expression to them without making it plain that there was a high-toned moral quality in all his thinking and acting, and that good, conscientious citizenship was demanded of every man endowed with the responsibility of exercising the right of franchise.

At a National Conference for good city government held at Philadelphia, he said:

"There are two gospels I always want to preach to reformers, whether they are working for civil service reform, for municipal reform, or for any other reform. The first is the gospel of morality; the next is the gospel of efficiency. To a body like this I do not think I have to dwell much upon the necessity of being straight and decent, for of course a man must try to render disinterested, honest service to the community if he has the least claim to be called a good citizen.

"But I know you don't need to have me dwell upon this side of the question. You come here representing the men who sincerely wish to see our municipal government purified, to see our public officials elected because they are likely to render honest service to the community, and to see our whole political life conducted in accordance with the highest standards of morality.

TO BE PRACTICAL AND EFFICIENT.

"I don't have to tell you to be upright, but I do think I have to tell you to be practical and efficient. When I say practical I don't mean that you have got to connive at wrong doing or submit to it; on the contrary, I believe that the most practical of politicians is the most honest, and that in the long run the politics of fraud and treachery and bribery and foulness are unpractical politics. But I do mean to say that you have got to face facts as they are; that, while keeping a high standard, you have yet got to realize that there are very many men whose standard is not so high, and that you must strive to get out from these men the best that lies in them, even though it is not the absolute best.

"In condemning men whose standards are not as high as they ought to be (though this condemnation is often necessary) you must be careful not to encourage men whose standards are still lower. It is sometimes necessary to help the best by overthrowing the good, even though it produces the temporary triumph of the bad; but such action must always be regarded as exceptional. To follow it out as a steady policy is an infallible method of working evil to the community.

"Two points in special bear in mind: Be actors, and not

merely critics of others, in the first place; and in the second, do not try to accomplish everything at the very beginning, and then because you fail abandon the effort to accomplish anything.

"As to the first point, criticism is a very good thing, but work is a much better one. It is not the man who sits at home in his parlor, the man who reads his evening paper before the fire and says how bad our politicians are, who ever works an improvement in our municipal government. It is the man who goes out to the primaries and the polls, who attends the meetings of his party organizations if he is a party man, or who gets up effective independent organizations if he is not a party man. The man who wins in actual hard fighting, and who is not afraid of the blood and sweat—he is the man who deserves our gratitude; he is the man upon whom we must ultimately rely for results.

WHERE THE BATTLE MUST BE FOUGHT.

"Meetings like this, where all of us who believe alike get together, talk with one another, and learn to see the situation as it is and try to plan methods for making it better, serve an admirable purpose, too; but the real battle must be fought out on other and less pleasant fields. In the end the work has got to be done by actual, hard, stubborn, long-continued service in the field of practical politics itself. You have got to go out and meet not merely the men who think like you, but the men who think differently from you. You have got to try to win them to your side by argument, to try to beat them and overthrow them, and drive them from the field if you can't win them by argument.

"You may as well make up your mind at the beginning that when you thus go into practical politics you will make some mistakes, and you will be criticised by those who don't go in; but you may make up your mind also that in no other way can you ever achieve anything, and that the crown must finally be awarded not to the man who says how poorly others have done their work, but to the man who actually does the work, even though he does it imperfectly and with many shortcomings.

"Again, don't try to begin by reforming the whole world.

Prove yourself to be a tolerably efficient under-officer before you aspire to the work of the commander-in-chief. Of course, from the outset you must take an interest in the great problems of state and national legislation, no less than of municipal; but this must not be all. Go into your own assembly district, try to find out the men who think as you do, and whom you can spur into taking some kind of an active part; then, whether you are a Republican like myself, a Democrat like my friend here, or an Independent like my friend there, try to get your fellows to organize with you and to organize on a basis of desire for clean, decent government.

"Become thoroughly familiar with the work of the different machines in your district, with the work gone through in nominating candidates, no less than in preparing for the actual battle at the polls. Try to make your influence felt on your local representative, whether a councilman, alderman, or any other official. Make yourself a power. Teach the politicians, and by degrees teach the people, too, that you are not only disinterested, but that you are efficient also; that you are striving for the right, and that when you hit you hit to some purpose.

PLEA FOR THE AMERICAN SPIRIT.

"In carrying on your battle for decency remember one thing; if you are to win you must win by being straight-out Americans, and by conducting your campaign in the regular American spirit. If you try to organize your movement on any line of caste, on any line of birthplace or of creed, you will be beaten, and you will deserve to be beaten. Go into our politics simply as Americans.

"Work heartily with the man in whose ideas you believe and who believes in your ideas, without any reference to whether he is a Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant, whether he was born here or abroad, whether he is a banker or a butcher, a professor or a hod-carrier, a railway president or the owner of a corner store—in short, act as Americans, and as nothing else.

"In conclusion, one thing: Don't forget that while you

must cultivate all the softer virtues, yet you will cease to be men if you fail to cultivate the stronger virtues likewise. You must be disinterested, unselfish, upright ; but you must also be sincere and resolute and courageous, morally and physically able to take punishment without flinching, and to give punishment in turn when the time and the need arise. Above all, remember that there is nothing more contemptible than to flinch from a task because you find it disagreeable, or because at first you fail to achieve the success that you think you should.

METHODS MAY HAVE TO BE IMPROVED.

“If you find at first that you are powerless, that your efforts for a month or two or a year or two fail to result in anything, then it is merely your duty to redouble your efforts, and, if necessary, to try to change and improve your methods. If you find that the people with whom you are thrown in contact in political life have low moral ideals, and are coarse and disagreeable, and yet too often are triumphant, why, instead of flinching from them, remember that if you are men you will stand up all the stouter in your battle.

“If you wish to accomplish anything in the field of municipal reform, you must be upright and disinterested ; you must be practical and willing to work hard, and not merely criticise ; you must be Americans through and through, in temper and spirit and heart, and you must possess the essential virtues of manliness, of resolution, and of indomitable courage.”

We are thus careful to furnish the reader with copious extracts from Mr. Roosevelt's speeches, addresses and writings because they are the windows through which we may look into his character, his purposes and lofty ideals. They show us what he is made of, and how he has come to be made what he is.

Having such a power even at this early age, and exhibiting such maturity of thought and judgment, it is not strange that the Hon. Andrew White, late United States Minister at Berlin, should tell the students of Cornell University, of which Mr. White was then president, to keep their eyes on Theodore Roose-

velt ; that while it is unsafe to predict the future of any young man, if ever anyone was pointed straight for the Presidency, that man was Theodore Roosevelt.

During the campaign of 1884, Mr. Roosevelt, as already intimated, acted with his party. He did not take offence, as others did, because he was defeated at Chicago, nor did he allow personal feeling to influence him. He had already made the acquaintance of Grover Cleveland, and as their ideas corresponded on many political questions, there was between them a bond of good fellowship. They were personal friends, but what personal considerations were to govern his sense of duty and his fealty to the party that he believed to be more nearly right than any other ?

Others who had been outvoted at Chicago acted like spoiled boys ; as they could not have their own way they "bolted," were never heard of afterward, and by petulently forsaking their party gained nothing except the ill will of their associates, and robbed themselves of opportunities that might have come to them to work changes inside the party if they had only remained and acted like men.

And so it came about that Mr. Roosevelt lost nothing by the rebuff he and his friends received in the National Convention. His main object was not to carry his point and gain a cheap victory, but to serve the country at large. The men who bolted were termed mugwumps ; that was not a name that had for him any special attractions. He was willing to be termed a mugwump, or anything else, if the best interests of the people could be served thereby, but no term of reproach was ever applied to him, and among the more thoughtful men everywhere he was regarded as a leader who could be trusted and whom it would be safe to follow.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAMPION OF REFORM IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY—AGAIN ON HIS RANCH—AUTHOR OF NEW YORK CIVIL SERVICE LAW—APPOINTED CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONER BY PRESIDENT HARRISON—HIS AGGRESSIVE AND SUCCESSFUL WORK—RESOLVED TO REFORM ABUSES OF LONG STANDING—HIS HONESTY AND COURAGE—ADVOCATE OF THE MERIT SYSTEM—AMUSING ANSWERS IN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION—RE-APPOINTED COMMISSIONER BY PRESIDENT CLEVELAND—IMPORTANCE OF A PUBLIC SERVICE DIVORCED FROM POLITICS—GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS THROUGH THE SYSTEM HE DEvised.

THE year 1886 saw Mr. Roosevelt rallying the political forces of the city of New York for the purpose of securing a better city government. He had returned from his western ranch and was again ready for active service in the cause to which the best part of his life has been devoted. He received from the Republicans of New York the nomination for mayor. The grand work done by him in his three terms at Albany pointed him out as the very best choice his party could make for an office at once so responsible and difficult to administer.

Abram S. Hewitt, a man of excellent character and abilities, was the nominee of the United Democracy. Henry George was the candidate of the United Labor party. Both of these men had a large following.

After a campaign that was more apathetic than it ought to have been, considering the important interests at stake, Mr. Hewitt was elected by a plurality of about 22,000. Mr. Roosevelt took his defeat quite philosophically. He had not sought office for personal gain, and, believing Mr. Hewitt would give the city an honest administration, he cheerfully acquiesced in the popular verdict.

A considerable part of the following three years was spent by

Mr. Roosevelt in the northwest superintending his ranch, pursuing game, deriving health and pleasure from an outdoor life, and at the same time devoting himself to his literary labors. He had books and magazine articles to write, and was now becoming widely known as an author.

His subjects were such as interested the reading public. His style was concise, breezy, off-hand, forcible and virile. There was a demand for his works. More than this, there was a demand for the man. In 1889 we see him again at the front and his robust figure appears in our national affairs.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONER.

He was the author of the New York Civil Service law, which will always be associated with his name. President Harrison appointed him as Civil Service Commissioner. No better selection could have been made. He had made a special study of this subject; his ideas were plainly the best that could be adopted and carried into effect; his view was that the Civil Service had literally been debauched and needed thorough reformation in every branch; unquestionably he was just the man for the place.

He believed appointments in National, State and Municipal service should be made on unquestioned merit, and not by favoritism and personal influence. He considered it the height of absurdity to appoint a stupid, half idiotic, incompetent man to a government position because he was the friend of a backwoods Congressman. George W. Curtis was the most conspicuous advocate of reform in this direction, and his efforts were ably seconded by Carl Schurz. Mr. Roosevelt was in hearty sympathy with their views, and nerved himself for a great work, fully resolved to accomplish it.

Of what use, he reasoned, are examinations if these are nothing more than a farce? It would damage all government service to make appointments on any other ground than that of competency and merit. For a long time it had been the custom to change employees whenever a party came into power and there was a change of administration. The government departments at

Washington had such a house-cleaning as would have delighted the heart of old Aunt Dinah in the story of Southern life, who had a clearing-up spell once in a while, with such scrubbing, sweeping, dusting and throwing out of refuse as would make one doubt if there was anything left for the next periodical clearing-up spell.

Party custom said the employees, men who had spent years in learning their duties and who had grown efficient by long labor and experience, must pack up and promptly quit Uncle Sam's premises to make way for a gang of incompetents, who had no claim whatever to recognition except the absurd one that to the victors belong the spoils. The following, from one of his biographers, is pertinent in this connection :

"Of course he met with opposition. While in the mayoralty election he had polled more votes than had ever been cast for any Republican candidate for Mayor of New York, and it was believed that he would have been elected had not so many Republicans voted for Hewitt in order to render George's defeat certain, there were those who said he was 'ruined,' as he had 'ruined himself' when in the Assembly at Albany because he fought 'organization' measures and was neither academic nor Pickwickian in his attitude as to political corruption.

THE TERROR OF SPOILSMEN.

"He 'ruined himself' again, and completely, by taking a place on the Civil Service Commission and standing across the path of the powerful politicians—the men who elect and who control delegations to nominating conventions—on their hunt for patronage. When Mr. Roosevelt began his public career he was looked upon as a youthful faddist. The spoilsmen and those corrupt in politics laughed at him; they ridiculed him; and then they had to fight him. Those in public life for the money that was in it felt the sting of his scorn. He became a public figure at once.

"Roosevelt at that time did more than command respect for reform ideas. He showed that it was possible to remain in office and be clean. He caused to be abolished in New York city several

useless offices which were used to bleed the public treasury. He helped to abolish the joint responsibility of the Board of Aldermen with the Mayor in appointments to office. He investigated the Police Department of New York city and laid bare some of its iniquities. He recommended a single head for the Department, the necessity for which later he realized to the fullest degree.

"Then he secured the passage of the Civil Service reform law of 1884, a law upon which the Federal statute was largely modeled. If he had done little else in his public life in the way of a service for the right, that law would have carried him high in the estimation of his fellow-citizens. The wisdom of that legislation is now universally approved. The qualities of honesty and courage were never absent from him, and they had done their work.

HIS MASTER STROKE.

"President Harrison made him chairman of the Civil Service Commission of the United States in 1889. Brilliant as had been his work in other directions, never was he so deserving of the approval of his fellow-countrymen as during the years he toiled to elevate the public service and to help bring it to its present state of efficiency. At that time, it would appear, he had little ambition for higher work. He had to face hostility on every side. He had to show that the scheme was practical. He countermined the enmity of certain Congressmen. His master stroke in this work was to hold examinations in various States and gradually to build up a following of officeholders, through merit, of scores of Congressmen.

"Roosevelt had to prove that a party did not need the minor offices to secure success before the people. He had to prove that it was good party politics to take the great mass of offices out of the domain of politics. It was bold and fearless work and he succeeded in it.

"According to the new Commissioner's idea, 'no question of internal administration is so important to the United States as the question of Civil Service reform, because the spoils system, which

can only be supplanted through the agencies which have found expression in the act creating the Civil Service Commission, has been for seventy years the most potent of all the forces tending to bring about the degradation of American politics.' No republic can endure permanently when its politics is base and corrupt; and the spoils system, the application in political life of the degrading doctrine that 'to the victor belongs the spoils,' produces corruption and degradation.

THE SAME AS BRIBERY.

"The man who is in politics for the offices might just as well be in politics for the money he can get for his vote, so far as the general good is concerned. When the then Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Hendricks, said that he 'wished to take the boys in out of the cold to warm their toes,' thereby meaning that he wished to distribute offices among the more active 'heelers,' to the rapturous enthusiasm of the latter, he uttered a sentiment which was morally on the same plane with a wish to give 'the boys' five dollars apiece all around for their votes, and fifty dollars apiece when they showed themselves sufficiently active in bullying, bribing and cajoling other voters.

"Such a sentiment should bar any man from public life, and will bar him whenever the people grow to realize that the worst enemies of the Republic are the demagogue and the corruptionist. The spoils-monger and the spoils-seeker invariably breed the bribe-taker and the bribe-giver—the embezzler of public funds and the corrupter of voters. Civil Service reform is not merely a movement to better the public service. It achieves this end, too; but its main purpose is to raise the tone of public life, and it is in this direction that its effects have been of incalculable good to the whole community.

"For six years, from May, 1889, to May, 1895, Mr. Roosevelt was a member of the National Civil Service Commission. The aim of the Commission was always to procure the extension of the classified service as rapidly as possible, and to see that the law was administered thoroughly and fairly. The Commission did

not have the power which Mr. Roosevelt thought it should have, and in many instances there were violations and evasions of the law in certain bureaus or departments, and the Commission was unable to hinder them, though in every case the Commission made a good fight and gave the widest publicity to the wrongdoing.

"Often when the Commission could not win the actual fight in which they were engaged, the fact of their having made it, and the other fact that they were willing to repeat the fight on provocation, put a stop to a repetition of the offense. Consequently, while there were many violations and evasions, their proportion became smaller and smaller in time.

"In the aggregate, it is said that it is doubtful if one per cent. of all the many employees have been dismissed for purely political reasons. Taking it another way, where under the old system of spoils a hundred men had been turned out, under the Civil Service ninety-nine men were kept in office."

TWO EXCELLENT APPOINTMENTS.

When President Harrison appointed the members of the Civil Service Reform Commission, the Charleston, South Carolina, "News and Courier" said that Mr. Harrison deserved great credit, yet the delay in making appointments had been harmful; but, at any rate, he appointed two of the best men in the United States. The "News and Courier" added:

"In character, ability, and devotion to the cause of reform, the new Commission is all that could be desired. Mr. Lyman, the hold-over member of the Commission, is thoroughly in sympathy with his work. In his recent address before the Civil Service Reform Association of New York, Mr. George William Curtis referred to Mr. Roosevelt, one of the new Commissioners, as one of the few 'recognized local leaders of the dominant party who have publicly insisted that the declared policy of the party on this subject shall be rejected.' The peculiar fitness of ex-Governor Thompson, of South Carolina, for the office to which he has just been appointed was recognized by Mr. Cleveland."

The Baltimore "American," May 27, 1889, also observed: "Civil Service Reform is likely to receive more practical attention from the new Civil Service Commission appointed by President Harrison, and to make more progress under their wise supervision, than at the hands and through the methods of those who have somewhat superciliously proclaimed themselves its custodians."

MERIT THE ONLY THING TO BE CONSIDERED.

In the "Century Magazine" for February, 1890, Theodore Roosevelt defined his Civil Service Reform position to be: "If a party victory meant that all the offices already filled by the most competent members of the defeated party were to be thereafter filled by the most competent members of the victorious party, the system would still be absurd, but would not be particularly baneful. In reality, however, this is not what the system of partisan appointments means at all. Wherever it is adopted it is inevitable that the degree of party service, or more often of service to some particular leader, and not merit, shall ultimately determine the appointment, even as among the different party candidates themselves.

"Once admit that it is proper to turn out an efficient Republican clerk in order to replace him by an efficient Democratic clerk, or *vice versa*, and the inevitable next step is to consider solely Republicanism and Democracy, and not efficiency, in making the appointment; while the equally inevitable third step is to consider only that particular species of Republicanism or Democracy which is implied in adroit and unscrupulous service rendered to the most influential local boss."

The "Review of Reviews" for August, 1890, referred to the effort of Mr. Schurz to defeat Colonel Roosevelt for Governor as an instance of the manner in which "a cause like Civil Service Reform may suffer its worst wounds at the hands of its friends," and continued: "Mr. Roosevelt stands before the country as the most eminent and influential Civil Service reformer the country has produced, with the exception of the Hon. Dorman B. Eaton, whose pioneer position with regard to this reform is historic.

There was certainly as strong reason why Civil Service reformers should have supported Mr. Roosevelt as why they should have supported Mr. Schurz himself if he had been running for the governorship.

"Moreover, it is to be remembered that the only possible alternative was the turning over of the State of New York to the absolute control of Tammany Hall. The election came at a time when the interests of the State imperatively demanded that the Governor should be courageous, disinterested, and a believer in the principle of appointing men to office on the ground of their honesty and fitness. Fortunately, the attitude of reformers like Mr. Schurz did not succeed in bringing upon the State of New York the calamity of Mr. Roosevelt's defeat.

"The voters were true to the real issue. But, although the foremost American Civil Service reformer was put into a position to effect a vast improvement in the public service of the State of New York, the conduct of officers and leaders of the Civil Service Reform League in opposing him, was undoubtedly a serious blow to the cause."

NUMBER OF APPLICANTS EXAMINED.

It was officially reported that from July 1, 1890, to June 30th, 5251 applicants were examined for the departmental service at Washington, of whom 3366 passed, and 1885 failed to pass.

For the customs service 1579 were examined, 992 passed, and 587 failed; for the postal service 8538 were examined, 5840 passed, and 2698 failed to pass; for the railway mail service 3706 were examined, 2588 passed, and 1118 failed to pass.

The whole number examined for the four branches of the classified service was 19,074, of whom 12,786 passed and 6288 failed to pass. Compared with the previous year, this shows a decrease of 3920 in the whole number examined, a decrease of 1161 in the whole number who passed, and a decrease of 2759 in the whole number who failed to pass.

The whole number appointed in the year covered by this report is as follows: Departmental service, 1152; customs service,

320; postal service, 2861, and railway mail service, 1062. Total, 5395.

"An excellent feature in the Southern States," the report held, "was the elimination not only of the question of politics and religion, but of the question of race. A fair proportion of the men appointed from these States has been colored, these successful colored applicants being, in many cases, graduates of the colleges or higher institutions of learning established especially for their race. They rarely belonged to the class of colored politicians which has hitherto been apt to monopolize such appointments as colored men receive at all.

WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF RACE OR COLOR.

"On the contrary, they were, for the most part, well-educated, self-respecting, intelligent young men and women, who, having graduated from the colored schools and colleges, found but few avenues open for the employment of their talents. It is impossible to estimate the boon to these colored men and women of being given the chance to enter the Government service on their own merits in fair competition with white and colored alike.

"It is noticeable that a much larger proportion of colored people receive appointments under the Civil Service law than under the old patronage system. The Civil Service law has been the means of materially enlarging the fields of pursuits open to those members of the colored race who have contrived to get a good education and to fit themselves for the higher walks of life."

This statement was signed by United States Civil Service Commissioners Charles Lyman, Connecticut, president; Theodore Roosevelt, New York; Hugh S. Thompson, South Carolina.

Writing in 1895, Commissioner Roosevelt put the case in the words following: "Where we allow the office to form part of an immense bribery chest, the effect upon political life is precisely the same as if we should allow the open expenditure of immense sums of money in bribing the voters. In New York State, for instance, there are over fifty thousand appointive offices under the National, State and local governments.

"The average salary paid would be over \$500. This means the aggregate annual salaries must be in the neighborhood of \$25,000,000. Suppose, however, that it is but \$10,000,000. Think what it means to our political life in that State to have a corruption fund of such size as to be scrambled for at every election. If \$10,000,000 were expended in bribery at every election, and the expenditure were allowed by law and connived at, or even applauded, by public sentiment, the effect would be to give immediate prominence to the men who had that money to spend, to the men who knew how it should be spent, and to the men who accepted it and did work in consideration of receiving it.

EVILS OF THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

"In a very short time these three classes would monopolize nine-tenths of the influence and power in our political life, and decent people could overthrow them only in some time of special and great political excitement. This is precisely what happens under the spoils system.

"As soon as we cease to put a premium upon the political activity of the man who is in politics from the worst motives, and thereby remove the incentive for his political activity, we enormously, incalculably, increase the power for good. Now men feel that the struggle is hopeless because they are pitted against trained mercenaries paid out of the public chest.

"Remove these mercenaries from the political arena, and decent citizens will have the same chance that others have. The man most benefited by the Civil Service law is the plain, quiet citizen who does not want an office, but holds strong views on political affairs, and believes that by every law of honesty and decency he is entitled to have his say in the management of our Republic."

There was no great enthusiasm among members of Congress for Civil Service reform. Whatever evils were evident, and there were many, were only to be expected, it was said, and it was useless to make any attempt to root them out. The Commission, of which Roosevelt was the leading spirit, thought otherwise, and

went about the work of reformation as if they regarded it a religious duty, imperative, and essential to the public welfare.

Amidst the overturning of rules, customs, precedents, and other forms of nonsense, it was both amusing and contemptible to see our public representatives at Washington pushing, scheming and adopting all manner of devices to get their own favorites, relatives, friends and political heelers into comfortable berths, and then, with equal persistence, trickery and wire-pulling, endeavoring to keep them there. Men who would be horrified at the thought of cheating their grocer would do their best to keep an appointee in his place who was utterly incompetent except as a party tool, and thus cheat the public service. It is hard to account for the strange impression—and it is almost universal—that Uncle Sam is rightfully everybody's victim, and that a man can fleece him and then go to church with a good conscience and say his prayers.

SECURED NECESSARY LEGISLATION.

By dint of perseverance the Civil Service Commission succeeded in bringing order out of chaos, and obtained the necessary legal enactments for carrying out their plans, all of which were carefully considered and aimed at the improvement of the Civil Service.

In the Harrison campaign of 1888 there were, under the old system, 1400 employees in the Brooklyn navy yard on September 1st, and 2500 on November 1st. The election being over, this number in one month shrunk to 1400. Then, in the next presidential term, the service was classified and there was careful registration. On September 1st 2200 men were employed, and on November 1st the number was only 150 less. Here was evidence of decided improvement and Harrison's administration received the credit.

There were some astounding revelations when Mr. Roosevelt became Assistant Secretary of the Navy. He received, for example, a bill for furniture that had been used to furnish the monitor "Terror." The bill had been standing for ten years. The work was done at the navy yard and the cost was many times what

it should have been. At first Mr. Roosevelt refused to pass the bill, but as it had come to him in the regular way and properly endorsed, payment could not be escaped.

But he made an investigation and found the officers did not like to make charges against their predecessors,* and these claimed that they had nothing to do with employing the workmen, but some congressman knew all about it and was the responsible party. Voters were put into the yard and were set to work making bureaus. With fine sarcasm Roosevelt said, "they could with least damage to the public service be employed in building furniture."

It seems that congressmen engaged the workmen; the officers did not dare to object to what a mighty congressman had done, and, considering the amount of work done and the number engaged in doing it, it was found that the bureaus cost \$400 apiece. We doubt if the public generally suppose that Uncle Sam is in the habit of providing sumptuous and costly furniture for his naval vessels.

IMMENSE CHANGE FOR THE BETTER.

Mr. Roosevelt said he had investigated personally the navy yards of New York, League Island, Boston and Norfolk, and all the officers informed him "That the change for the better had been beyond belief since the navy yard laboring force had been employed without regard to politics;" and in the clerical force the work was done quicker and better. A man had been discharged after being off on an eight-days' spree. The officers said, "Yes, we can get rid of him now. If it were eight years ago he would be back within three days."

We quote from Assistant Secretary Roosevelt's memorandum: "For instance, Commodore Erbin, the 'man behind the gun' commodore, the author of that speech, the commandant of the New York navy yard, reported in writing that 'the general effect of the system has been to reduce the cost of all work done in the yard during the year about 25 per cent. It has been a saving of money to the government of about 25 per cent.'"

"I have these statements made to me continually. I have

usually not kept a record of them. On looking over the letters, I find such a letter as this, for instance, of December 28th last, a month ago, from the pay inspector and general storekeeper of the Washington yard, Mr. Putnam, recommending certain promotions, and saying:

“‘In the event of the promotions being made as requested above, the vacancy created for a special laborer at \$2 per diem need not be filled, as under the system of promotions for merit I am getting a more efficient service.’

FEWER CLERKS AND BETTER WORK.

“That is just one little instance. We have reduced by one the small force in his office, because when he is allowed to promote men for merit he gets so much more efficient service.

“The constructor at the navy yard, being asked about his force some little time ago, said he had ten clerks appointed for political reasons, by whose aid he could not quite get his work done, and that if they should ever be turned out and he could have five chosen under the rigid competitive examination system, he would guarantee to get the work done. The ten were turned out and the five appointed, and the work is well done.

“Just recently I had another such case as this, where two vacancies occurred, as under the systems of promotions for merit they were getting so much better material that there was no need of employing as many men as formerly. We have been introducing the system of promotions for merit, in co-operation with or subordination to the Civil Service Commission, during the last year. It was started toward the end of Secretary Herbert’s administration. Secretary Long has promulgated and formulated the rules.”

On one occasion, in the navy yard, a senator and three members of the House, with Roosevelt, spent the better part of two working days “on the earthshaking question, not of armor, not of ships, not of ordnance, but whether or no the commandant had the right to promote a man from a \$1200 to a \$1400 position without consulting the senators and representatives from that state.”

The witness related of the clerks and messengers, who had not been classified under Tracy: "When Secretary Herbert came in he kept all the labor force, but made an absolutely clean sweep of 'the clerks and messengers,' who went out with a jump, and some pretty eerie gentlemen got their places; and now they had been classified. There was no change under the McKinley administration."

The Chairman—"They are still in service."

Assistant Secretary Roosevelt—"They are still in the service—well, not the eerie gentlemen. They are being weeded out through the semi-annual reports, and their places are being taken by the promotion of men who more often than not were appointed under Secretary Herbert, but appointed through the regular Civil Service examinations. We are weeding out the bad men, but the decent men are kept in."

REASONS FOR DISCHARGING MEN.

"Then, there is one point I should like to make. We found the old system in vogue as regards two very small branches of employment. One was the minors under instruction, or apprentices, in the different yards. There were only a few dozen appointed annually. There was not any way that we could appoint them. People say, 'If you did not have the Civil Service examinations the head of the department could appoint the men to please himself.' I should just like to see that experiment made once to observe the effect of it upon the Senate and the House."

As to certain persons turned out, Mr. Roosevelt had received a letter asking, "Why have you turned out a worthy man merely because he is a democrat?" The answer was that the man was not turned out as a democrat, "but because of the trivial fact that he got drunk." The next letter would probably be to this effect: "An excellent man and a republican has just been turned out. His leading man has reported against him. But I am credibly informed that that leading man voted for Bryan last year." The case was looked up, and it was ascertained "the

worthy republican slept seven hours inside of a boiler which he was supposed to be mending."

And the Assistant Secretary said, "We happened by good luck to strike Jew, Catholic, and Protestants in turning out, and in every instance people would write to me saying that the men were turned out because they were Jews, or Catholics, or Protestants, as the case might be. I have been impressed that it is the men who are least fit who are apt to have the greatest amount of influence brought on their behalf.

AMUSING ANSWERS OF APPLICANTS.

"We felt that a policeman is an important executive officer, who, to a large percentage of the foreign-born population of New York, stands in the place of the constitution and town meeting and governor, and everything else. One question I recollect we asked the candidate for the position was: 'Give a brief statement of the life of Abraham Lincoln.' Out of some hundreds of applicants we had ten who said he was the President of the Southern Confederacy. We had one man who said he was assassinated by Thomas Jefferson; two who said he was assassinated by Jefferson Davis; another who said he was assassinated by Garfield; three who said he was assassinated by Guiteau; and one man, who evidently did not feel friendly to the Salvation Army, said he was assassinated by Ballington Booth.

"We asked who was the chief officer of the United States. One of the candidates responded, 'Parkhurst'; another, probably of different political faith, 'Croker'; two, with deft flattery, named me.

"One of the questions was to name certain of the States that were in the Confederacy in 1861. Nearly half of the applicants named States like Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah and Nevada. It was at the time of the silver campaign, and they had a vague impression that there was something wrong out there, but they did not know what.

"We also asked them—I dislike to state this answer before Senator Lodge, but I must—to name five of the New England States. There were three answers to that question which I

specially liked. One man named New York, Albany, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Delaware. The next two answers I am going to give are so extraordinary that I kept the record; I kept the questions and answers. The five New England States, one man said, were England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and Cork. The gentleman was of foreign origin, I may explain. Another man, presumably of different religious faith, named Belfast instead of Cork.

One man was appointed who thought Abraham Lincoln was President of the Southern Confederacy, and another man who said he was a great general, and fought the battle of Bunker Hill. Both of these men were of foreign birth, and except as to Abraham Lincoln passed excellent examinations, and a failure of one question did not bar a man out.

RIGHT MAN IN THE RIGHT PLACE.

"I have received a little clipping from a San Antonio paper that goes to my heart on the question of practical examinations. Always, when you start to make a revolutionary change, you meet opposition from very excellent people who are of a conservative habit of thought. Two or three years ago I enlisted Mr. Proctor, whose views and mine were always identical on all these matters, and we invariably worked together in every respect in a scheme for the examination of customs inspectors on the Texas border. I know all about the cow country. Therefore I am fit to deal with it. I knew I could get up a bully set of competitive tests for customs inspectors on the border, because it happens to lend itself to a good system of competitive tests. You want to have a man who is a first-rate horseman, who knows about brands, who is a good shot, and is able to write a clear report.

"First of all, you have to get recommendations of character, of course. Then I wanted to have enough of a written examination to test the candidate's handwriting, his arithmetic, and his capacity to write a good letter, and then to test his revolver shooting, exactly as they do on any range. On a range, as you know, senators, the results of the competition are put down numerically.

Such and such a man gets 87 out of a possible hundred, another 67, another 93, the bull's-eye being marked 5, the next line 4, the next line 3, the next 2, and the outer line 1. That lent itself very readily to competitive tests.

"Then for the brand reading you have to trust a little bit to good fortune, but in order to show knowledge of horsemanship and cattle, it was only necessary to have what is a favorite test of cow punchers on the round-up. Let each man take any horse he wishes,—and if a man has not a good horse he will get one,—turn loose a steer for each man, and test him according to the rapidity with which he can overtake, rope, throw, and tie down the steer. It was not deemed practicable at that moment to put that competitive test in, especially as I could not get down there to oversee it myself. But it was adopted to a certain extent, and I this morning received in the mail a slip from a San Antonio paper as follows:

QUALIFICATIONS FOR MOUNTED INSPECTOR.

"For mounted inspector—He who gets the job must read brands, ride bronchos, and shoot with both hands.

"The Civil Service Commission announces that, on March 15, an examination will be held in Brownsville, Texas, for the position of mounted inspector in the customs district of Brazos de Santiago, with headquarters at Brownsville. The examination will be of a light educational character, but applicants will be required to file special vouchers showing their knowledge of the Mexican language and of the country embraced in the district, as well as their ability to read brands and their experience in horsemanship and marksmanship.'"

In closing his testimony Assistant Secretary Roosevelt said of Mr. John R. Proctor, "He is the only member of the commission with whom I served. He and I radically differ on politics; but there were no points of policy or practice in which we did not work hand in hand absolutely, and I happened to see Mr. Proctor put to pretty severe tests in standing up for republicans who were menaced; take it in the Treasury, under Mr. Carlisle: for colored republican letter-carriers menaced in southern offices by

southern white democratic postmasters, who belong to his own party, and he rang more than true on every occasion."

In the course of the testimony given by Assistant Secretary Roosevelt, there was some difference of opinion in relation to the examination of fifteen steel inspectors, and their appointment, and the Secretary desired to make inquiry before stating the case fully, and mentioned that he would write a letter on the subject, which is as follows:

UTTER DISREGARD FOR RED TAPE.

"NAVY DEPARTMENT. OFFICE ASSISTANT SECRETARY,
Washington, Feb. 3, 1898.

"My Dear Sir: In accordance with your request, I have to inform you as follows about the steel inspectors:

"The examination was held over a year ago; that is, in January, 1897. It appears that some trouble occurred in connection with the inspection of the steel plates submitted by the armor companies to the government, and the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Herbert, came to the conclusion that, in the interests of the government, it was desirable to have a special corps of civilian experts appointed only with reference to their peculiar capacity for the very technical work needed. It was necessary to take immediate action. In such a case the examination invariably has to be conducted by experts outside of the Civil Service Commission's regular force.

"In this instance the commission, of course, had no register of eligibles and no means of getting any. It was a few months after the great extension of the classified service, which put in 30,000 places extra; and it was a simple physical impossibility for the commission, already swamped with work, to take charge of the highly technical examinations of this nature, at least until its ordinary and regular work was in shape. • A special examination for a very small class of applicants, as in this case, of course entails as much work as (and if the examination is highly technical very much more work than) is the case with a simple examination for a very large class of candidates of a kind which

the commission has to itself undertaken. It was impossible to wait, and Secretary Herbert and the commission took the only proper course, a course which, in my opinion, can be objected to only on the narrowest red-tape grounds.

"The Secretary, as appears by his letter of January 29, 1897, got permission from the Commission, through Chief Clerk Peters, to have a special examination held by an officer of the navy who was an expert in the manufacture of steel, Assistant Naval Constructor R. B. Dashiell. The holding of the examination was thoroughly advertised. About 150 applications were sent in.

PRACTICAL AND THOROUGH EXAMINATION.

"According to the report of Mr. Dashiell, the examination was very thorough, covering the entire ground of the inspection of steel and iron, developing every candidate's abilities to conduct the physical and chemical inspections required, the constructor also giving weight to the testimonials and general fitness of the candidates. Fifteen men were appointed in consequence of this examination, who have given entire satisfaction.

"Men appointed to this position have to perform such peculiar duties that I question whether an ordinary Civil Service examination would be adequate to test them. Certainly, if they were appointed as the result of written competitive examination, it could only be in accordance with one conducted on the same lines as that conducted by Mr. Dashiell. In this particular case, for the Civil Service Commission and the Navy Department to have followed any other course than the one they did would not only have been absurd, but would have been highly detrimental to the public interest.

"I am, with great respect, yours truly,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT,

"Assistant Secretary."

"Hon. J. C. Pritchard, United States Senate."

Enough has already been said in this chapter to give the reader a correct idea of Mr. Roosevelt's position on the Civil Ser-

vice question. By careful study and observation he had become an expert, and his opinions were not lightly to be set aside. His evident honesty and sincerity greatly aided him in his work, and his nervous push, strong combative qualities, and inability to yield in the face of difficulties ensured his ultimate success. His position was exactly what could have been prophesied from his broad fundamental views regarding American citizenship and the principles he believed indispensable to all good government.

IMPORTANCE OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

"No question of internal administration," he declares, "is so important to the United States as the question of Civil Service reform, because the spoils system, which can be supplanted only through the agencies which have found expression in the act creating the Civil Service Commission, has been for seventy years the most potent of all forces tending to bring about the degradation of our politics. No republic can permanently endure when its politics are corrupt and base; and the spoils system, the application in political life of the degrading doctrine that to the victor belong the spoils, produces corruption and degradation. The man who is in politics for the offices might just as well be in politics for the money he can get for his vote, so far as the general good is concerned.

"The worst enemies of the Republic are the demagogue and the corruptionist. The spoils-monger and the spoils-seeker invariably breed the bribe-taker and the bribe-giver, the embezzler of public funds and the corrupter of voters. Civil Service reform is not merely a movement to better the public service. It achieves this end too; but its main purpose is to raise the tone of public life, and it is in this direction that its effects have been of incalculable good to the whole community."

It was in accordance with these views that he carried on his great work of Civil Service reform, and although he had to fight his way at almost every step, he did not waver or turn back. Believing he was right he adopted Davy Crockett's motto and went ahead.

"Our aim," he says, "was always to procure the extension of the classified service as rapidly as possible, and to see that the law was administered thoroughly and fairly."

The Commission was a unit on all vital questions; it was not a house divided against itself. If it had been, no such work could have been accomplished as that which distinguished it and made it a veritable right arm to the government. Mr. Roosevelt was an earnest advocate of the merit system. There was one simple rule for promotions: Did the persons deserve it? On their own ability and the actual work they had done, and on no other pretext whatever, they were to be advanced. On their examinations they were to be received in the first place, and not because they had shouted in the last campaign for some man who was up for office.

NEW DUTIES DISCHARGED WITH ENERGY.

It has been said of him, "He brought to the discharge of his new duties all the energy exhibited in his legislative career, coupled with the wiser understanding gained by three years of close application to the study of the subject. His experience as an assemblyman had taught him that he would find sturdy opposition to his plans for reform as much within his party as out of it. But he had an enthusiastic faith in the righteousness and the expediency of the Civil Service system."

The Republican platform of 1900 said: "We commend the policy of the Republican party in the efficiency of the Civil Service. The administration has acted wisely in its efforts to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in these territories should be confined as far as possible to their inhabitants."

President McKinley and President Roosevelt, in their Administrations followed this guiding principle, and sought to make the Civil Service a practical illustration of the merit system. President Roosevelt, through his experience as a member of the Civil Service Commission, knew its practical benefits.

President Roosevelt, in his message to the Fifty-seventh Congress, said: "The merit system of making appointments is in its essence as democratic and American as the common school system itself. It simply means that in clerical and other positions, where the duties are entirely non-political, all applicants should have a fair field and no favor, each standing on his merits as he is able to show them by a practical test. Written competitive examinations offer the only available means in many cases for applying this system.

"In other cases, as where laborers are employed, a system of registration undoubtedly can be widely extended. There are, of course, places where the written competitive examination cannot be applied, and others where it offers by no means an ideal solution; but where, under existing political conditions it is, though an imperfect means, yet the best present means of getting satisfactory results."

DOING BUSINESS IN A BUSINESS WAY.

The administrations of McKinley and Roosevelt both followed as far as practicable the policy of employing the inhabitants of territories in the public service there. But the main object has been an honest and efficient public service.

It was universally admitted that Mr. Roosevelt, as Civil Service Commissioner, had achieved great and important results. He had made it plain that a clerkship in any department under the government meant something more than drawing a salary. It had come to be understood that a good efficient man was not in immediate danger of losing his place by a change of administration. The governing principle was not politics, but worthy service. He saw no reason why the rules regulating a business house should not apply to the larger business carried on by the United States.

He had proved himself to be so active and efficient that when President Cleveland entered upon his second term, in 1893, he asked Mr. Roosevelt to remain in office. This he consented to do, and for two years longer continued to administer the office with

the same efficiency that had characterized him up to that time. During his six years' service he added twenty thousand posts to the lists under the regulations of the merit system, more than were ever before or since placed on that roll in an equal length of time.

There is nothing so convincing as a concrete example, an actual demonstration. Men may have their doubts about theories, but when they see the theory worked out right before their eyes, when it has proved for itself all that was claimed for it, all doubting and quibbling are at an end. The spoils system dies hard. It is the tool of designing men. It entrenches them in power. It works wonders that never ought to be worked. Every blow at this system, every victory over it such as Roosevelt gained, is a direct advantage to the nation at large.

If Mr. Roosevelt had never conferred any other benefit upon the public than that of inaugurating a more honest and efficient public service, his name would deserve to be held in grateful remembrance.

CHAPTER VIII.

BRILLIANT ACHIEVEMENTS AS POLICE COMMISSIONER.

HONESTY DEMANDED IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE—PROTESTS AGAINST ROOSEVELT FOR POLICE COMMISSIONER—FEARED BY ALL THE VICIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE CITY—IMMENSE OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF REFORM—UNIVERSAL SYSTEM OF BLACKMAIL—VICE PERMITTED IN PROPORTION TO WHAT IT PAID—CRIME AND LAWLESSNESS PROTECTED—POLICE APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS MADE SOLELY FOR MONEY—MR. ROOSEVELT'S REPORT OF THE DOINGS OF THE POLICE BOARD. STATISTICS SHOWING GREAT WORK ACCOMPLISHED—ROOSEVELT'S FIRMNESS IN FACE OF BRUTAL OPPOSITION—RECEIVES SPLENDID TRIBUTES.

ON the 5th of May, 1895, Mr. Roosevelt resigned the office of Civil Service Commissioner, and on the 24th of May following was appointed Police Commissioner of New York city by Mayor Strong. He had every reason to be well satisfied with his work at Washington. The public service had been placed on a basis almost entirely new, and had been improved to such an extent as to merit the approbation of the entire country with the exception of those who shed tears over the ruin inflicted on the nation when their own schemes for getting the spoils are interfered with.

It was too bad, such men said, that the Civil Service should have been so upset and changed from what it was in the dear old times when every politician could be rewarded with an office. They mourned profusely, but soon discovered a lamentable lack of sympathy. The people at large were quite willing to have an honest public service. Congress had enacted into laws the just and wise recommendations of the Civil Service Commission, and thoughtful men were more than satisfied.

When Mr. Roosevelt became Police Commissioner, the appointment was met by a storm of protests. Every haunt of

vice in New York knew that this action of the Mayor meant business. On the one hand, pretended friends of the new appointee were sure he had "ruined himself" by taking the appointment, although he was remarkably active in public affairs for a man who had "ruined himself" so many times. There were those who felt sorry that young Roosevelt should so injure his political chances. It was pitiable to see a young and rising man throw himself away and make shipwreck of all his chances for the splendid career they had thought was before him.

Mr. Roosevelt did not appear to be so concerned over his future career as these hypocrites were, and he went into the fight against the abuses that needed to be rooted out as a warhorse would go into battle.

REVOLT AGAINST MUNICIPAL CORRUPTION.

Mayor Strong had been elected on a reform platform. His supporters were of three classes—anti-Tammany democrats, regular republicans and independents. No such coalition could have been brought about except from a deep-seated conviction that the time had come when New York could no longer endure the brazen front of wholesale fraud and the corruption that made the city a stench in the nostrils of all decent people. The citizens had been diligently engaged in attending to their own private affairs, and with equal diligence the politicians, cheats and plunderers had been engaged in attending to the affairs of the municipality. It was a very fine arrangement for the eminent Tammany statesmen so long as it lasted.

These men sniffed the battle as soon as Mr. Roosevelt came into power. To them his unfitness for the place was painfully evident. What did he know about city government? What conceivable mischief would not this hair-brained reformer perpetrate, and ruinously upset the established order of things? He was a mere theorist, anyway, and his appointment was another evidence of Mayor Strong's utter incapacity for the place to which he had been elected. And so there was a loud wail all through the slums and vice-cursed districts, and all sorts of tricks, sub-

terfuges and chicanery were brought into play to thwart every move of the new president of the police board.

This was nothing more than Mr. Roosevelt expected, and he was fully prepared for it. Fortunately the law invested him with considerable power, although not with a full measure of it. It may be doubted whether on any other terms he would have been presumptuous enough to accept the position.

POSITIONS BOUGHT AND SOLD.

It is strictly true that the office of Police Commissioner was beset by more difficulties of greater magnitude than any other office under the city government. The police force was notoriously corrupt and inefficient. Some of the force were honest, well-meaning men, yet even these had undoubtedly paid the Tammany chieftains handsomely for their appointments. This was the general rule. Then the appointee must do something to get his money back, and still further meet the constant demands of the men who had been instrumental in giving him his position.

This could be done only by levying blackmail. Vice could flourish so long as it was able to pay for it. The boy who stole an apple from a fruit stand was arrested with a pompous show of authority, and paraded as an example of the wonderful efficiency of the police, yet gambling dens, disorderly houses and saloons that were openly defying the State laws, were unmolested. The police appeared to be under the solemn conviction that they were paid to keep their eyes shut. And so they were; they were paid by the breeders and abettors of vice.

To use a common phrase, the police force was the "storm centre." It was responsible for more corruption than all the other departments of the city government put together. The decent citizens were compelled to organize for self-protection. Parkhurst, like an old-time prophet, thundered at the combined forces of evil and stirred the consciences of all good citizens. No one took exception to his fiery philippics, for it was conceded that the occasion for his burning invectives and hot denunciations existed on every side. It was a question whether law and order, public

decency and safety for the property and morals of the community should prevail, or vice should flourish and greedy spoilsmen should act the part of highwaymen and plunder the citizens to their hearts' content.

It will be seen that it was not a cheerful prospect which confronted Mr. Roosevelt. The very first thing to be done in the regeneration of the city was to revolutionize the police. From top to bottom there must be a shaking up, a weeding out, dismissals for neglect of duty and for the perpetration of crime, and promotions for good conduct and brave work wherever it could be discovered.

ORGANIZED DISHONESTY.

Says a reliable authority, in discussing the situation : "Crime and lawlessness had grown to such enormous proportions under the protection of the dominant party in New York that even the dullest and most careless citizen felt the gravity of the situation. Corruption had honeycombed every department of the city government, and inefficiency, dishonesty and rottenness were everywhere in evidence. Especially was this true of the police force. This department had been so long under the absolute direction of the Tammany leaders, and stood in such close connection both with that organization and the people, that it had become the actual hand gathering from the criminal and depraved classes an immunity tax to pass it on to the men who held sway over the politics of the city. A portion of this money naturally stuck to the fingers of the transferring hand, but the bulk of the vast sum collected from those engaged in unlawful enterprises found its way into the chests of the 'machine.'"

And again : "Every one at all familiar with the duties of an officer of police can readily understand how easily he might play the part of a robber with immense success, if he was confident the complaints that might be lodged against him would be either disregarded or pigeon-holed. Confident in his position, he could levy tribute alike on the innocent and guilty. Even the law was in his favor, and the more sumptuary the laws the better his chance for plunder. If a saloonkeeper had a desire to conduct

his business within the law, so as to be beyond the power of the blackmailing patrolman, his competitor at hand, who contributed to the corrupt fund, was allowed such liberal license that the man who would have obeyed the law was either forced out of business or compelled to adopt the dishonest practices of his neighbors."

Mr. Roosevelt says of the conditions existing at the time: "No man not intimately acquainted with both the lower and humbler sides of New York life—for there is a wide distinction between the two—can realize how far the corruption brought about by these conditions extended. It would be difficult to overestimate the utter rottenness of many branches of the city administration, but the chief center of it was in the Police Department. Except in rare instances, where prominent politicians made demands which could not be refused, both promotions and appointments toward the close of Tammany rule were made almost solely for money, and the prices were discussed with cynical frankness." These statements were not new.

STRONG MAN NEEDED.

To lead a crusade against these strong intrenchments of wickedness was not the mission of any weak man. It required a Hercules to cleanse the Augean stables, and only a giant of similar proportions could sweep and dust the city and banish its foul corruption. If search had been made through the whole country no man better fitted for so enormous a task could have been found.

It was easy enough to make mistakes, easy to yield to persuasions from interested parties, easy to show the white feather and retreat, easy to connive, for a consideration, with bad men, as other heads of the Police Department had done. But was there any living soul in the city of New York who imagined for one moment that any blatant scoundrel would dare to approach Theodore Roosevelt with a bribe in his hand? And here was the great reason why he was a terror to evildoers: he was absolutely incorruptible. His honor was above price. His integrity was such as to prove false once for all the common statement, so

generally believed, that "every man has his price?" If this could be said of Mr. Roosevelt, it would be interesting to know what that price is.

He soon gave his subordinates to understand that he was not up for auction. The only possible way to buy his favor was by honest service and upright conduct. At first it was predicted that he would fail in his administration of the Police Department; that he was a man of fine theories which were utterly impracticable when put to the test; that he was so simple he did not have any correct idea of what was required of the guardians of the public peace; that he would commit some blunder which would show his incompetency, and he would be compelled to retire and his political death would follow.

DETERMINED TO ENFORCE THE LAW.

He proclaimed at once his independence and honest intentions. "I am here," he said, "to enforce the law, and I shall do it. If you do not like the law, repeal it."

He did not sit in his office and obtain his knowledge of what the police were doing from hearsay; he was out night and day among the force, and, without their being aware of his presence, he formed opinions concerning officers and the men under them.

Once when he was out on a tour of inspection he discovered two policemen who were not fulfilling their duty; he promptly dismissed them. In their places he appointed two good men, one of whom had distinguished himself by capturing a notorious burglar, and the other, at the risk of his life, had saved a family from a burning building. No one disputed the fitness of the men, but interested parties came forward and, with great assurance, stated that the men deposed were American Protestant republicans, and the men appointed were Irish Catholic democrats. They thought surely they had made out a case and it would be the height of impudence for him to refuse their demands. They went away crestfallen after he quietly informed them he did not care anything about a man's politics, religion or nationality; if

he did not do his duty his head would come off, and there was no power on earth that could prevent it.

"In administering the police force," he says, "we found that there was no need of genius, nor, indeed, of any very unusual qualities. What was needed was exercise of the plain, ordinary virtues of a rather commonplace type, which all good citizens should be expected to possess. Common sense, common honesty, courage, energy, resolution, readiness to learn, and desire to be as pleasant as was compatible with the strict performance of duty—these were the qualities most called for."

HEAD OF POLICE FORCED OUT.

In this connection a writer says: "The brief story of the fall of Byrnes, the Superintendent of Police, the once mighty power who now lies in oblivion, is soon told. The connection of Byrnes with the Goulds, through whose advice he is said to have prospered in Wall Street, and his negligence in permitting the captains under him to shirk their duties, had given rise to unpleasant suspicions. Under pressure of threatened charges by Dr. Parkhurst, the mighty Byrnes handed in his resignation, and was promptly retired on a yearly pension of three thousand dollars, in favor of Inspector Peter F. Conlin. Thus the reorganization of the police force was made complete.

"Alone, almost unaided, Mr. Roosevelt then made himself master of the situation. He had enlisted a regiment of enemies. The whole city seemed against this one man who had the courage and bravery of his convictions. There was no abatement in the corrupt system of blackmail and saloon and brothel taxation, and Mr. Roosevelt found that the law gave him no power to dismiss the hopelessly bad men. He applied to the legislature, but it would not change the law. He remained firm, nevertheless, in his demands that the laws as he found them on the statute books should be enforced, especially the laws which concerned liquor selling during the forbidden days and hours.

"It was a critical time for the intrepid commissioner. His life was threatened. The sensational newspapers attacked him

with bitter malice; a part even of his own board was against him, but he never wavered.

"He saw the only way to succeed was to fight the saloon—the principal source of all the police corruption. He attacked the great municipal octopus—the rum power—he attacked it right flank, left flank, on all sides. He closed the saloon tight as a drum. He shut up side doors and rear entrances. The town was in an uproar—upon the verge of a revolution. All manner of influence was brought to bear, but to no purpose. He rose in almost a night from a city servant to a king, and he conquered. People saw that 'bluff' would not win; threats had no effect; entreaties were of no avail, and finally the police themselves commenced to dread seeing his well-known face, and they concluded that 'the old man meant business.' They did their full duty then, and with an army of faithful patrolmen following his flag, this new conqueror of vice and crime in Gotham was crowned with victory."

STORY OF THE DOINGS OF THE POLICE BOARD.

No better idea of the great work accomplished by the police board under Mr. Roosevelt's leadership can be obtained than that furnished by his own report, which was submitted to Mayor Strong February 27, 1897, and contained the story of the doings of the police board up to the end of 1896. The report plunges at once into the merits of the question. It furnishes a concise account of important changes that had been made, all with a view to improve the efficiency of the police and consequently to better insure law and order for the city.

"The new board found the department in a demoralized condition, comparable with nothing known in the history of the department. An extraordinary grand jury had recently been investigating the records of many officers, and many indictments had been found; 268 vacancies existed in the department, and twenty-six officers, including one inspector and five captains, were under suspicion on account of indictments for crime. Important legislative changes were pending, and a feeling of uncertainty

and distrust pervaded the department. This was even more strongly noticeable in the attitude of the public towards the department."

The new board, its president says, accepted "new methods of administration," one of which was to enforce "strict discipline and absolute impartiality," and this revolutionary proceeding "speedily caused the retirement of many officers of various grades." The new police law was of the bi-partisan sort, meant to insure against serious changes of any kind, and caused a delay of months. In the time from May 15th to July 15th, the vacancies increased to 355, including one chief, three inspectors, eleven captains and eleven sergeants. The appointments, for the year 1896, made a total of 1,336. This was necessary, but not the change of most importance. It was found, in the language of the President, "imperatively necessary, in order to re-establish discipline in the department, to substitute dismissals for light penalties which had previously been given for grave breaches of discipline, such as drunkenness and insubordination, and the imposition of heavier penalties for all grades of offenses. In former times it was common to impose a fine of one-half day or one day for a negligent or wilful failure to patrol, and fines of two or three days were common for disobedience of orders, or off post in liquor stores." There were 169 dismissals in twenty months. In four years before this the dismissals were seventy-six.

PROMOTIONS MADE ACCORDING TO MERIT.

Mr. Roosevelt adopted the system of making promotions for merit, but complains of the bi-partisan feature of the State law. He refers to the legislation as "unwise," making this specification: "Not only have these two legislatures refused to pass any bill which would give us the power to rid the department of bad officers, and to administer it with proper vigor and efficiency, but they have actually made the law very much worse than it formerly was, weakening our powers to do good work, and rendering it more difficult to check evil and to centre responsibility. If no other change is possible, then at least it would be well to repeal

the present law and re-enact the old law, which was in force when the present board took office, in May,¹ 1895. The old law was far preferable to the present law."

The "enormous change for the better" was "due entirely to the board." "The particular law under which the department itself is administered is worse than was the law which it supplanted. When the present board was appointed, the force was still administered under the old law, but immediately afterward the so-called bi-partisan bill, as passed by the legislature of 1859, became a law. The legislature at the same time refused to pass a reorganization bill, which would have given the police board the power to remove the corrupt and incapable officers who were on the force; and the legislature of 1896 also refused to pass a similar bill.

"Indeed, the legislature of 1895 actually passed a bill taking away the right of trial from the commissioners, which would have rendered the powers of the board for good almost null; but the members of the board appeared before you [Mayor Strong] in a body to protest against the bill, and by your veto you killed it. Finally, the legislature of 1896 refused to pass a bill asked for by the majority of the board, and approved by you, to remedy the worst evils which had been created by the so-called bi-partisan act."

TWO BAD FEATURES OF THE ACT.

This report pointed out "the two worst features of the bi-partisan act," stating that, "in the first place, it divides responsibility; indeed, to a large extent centering the power in one place and the responsibility in another; and, in the second place, it renders immeasurably greater the already sufficiently difficult task of getting efficient action out of a four-headed commission, for a four-headed commission is necessarily a clumsy executive instrument.

"The full disadvantages of the new law were not very manifest at first; because, for the first seven or eight months of its existence, the new board had under it in the higher positions only acting officers, and it therefore continued to exercise vir-

tually the powers the board had formerly possessed. It was not until March, 1896, that it found that the power to promote to the rank of roundsman, and to make temporary promotions of officers to act in a higher grade, were, in the eye of the law, not promotion, but assignments or details. During these ten months of unchecked control, the board accomplished an almost incredible amount of work for the reorganization of the department."

LAW HONESTLY EXECUTED.

It had been claimed that the excise law "could not be enforced in New York city." The board determined to make a trial of enforcement, and "the result was that, for the first time in its history, the excise law was thoroughly and honestly administered in New York. The means employed by the board were perfectly simple, and consisted merely in insisting that the wealthy liquor sellers and those who possessed great political influence should be treated as their weaker brethren were treated. When we took office there were hundreds of saloons that were closed on Sunday, while thousands more were open, only those being closed which did not pay blackmail, or whose owners, for some reason or other, were under the protection of the higher police officers or of influential politicians who had power with these officials. We enforced the law with rigid equity upon all alike. In consequence, we made all alike close.

"Yet, though we shut the saloons on Sunday, we actually made fewer arrests than had been made before. In the year previous to our term of office, over 10,000 persons were arrested for violation of the Sunday law. During the first twelve months of our administration but 5,700 were arrested. Yet, while making 4,300 fewer arrests, we enforced obedience to a law which never before had been obeyed, because for the first time we arrested everybody, without regard to their wealth or political backing, and allowed no arrests to be made for purposes of blackmail or political intimidation.

"The figures for the arrests show, by the way, that while the number of excise arrests fell off, the number of arrests for more

important crimes increased ; a proof that the police, while warring upon vice, have also warred more efficiently than ever before against violent criminality. We pursued the same tactics with gambling houses and disorderly houses, and with much the same success, in spite of the scant help we received from a few of the executive and judicial officers of the government, and of the obstacles thrown in our way by the comptroller."

The "Tramp Lodging House" was abolished, because of such a nature that "only dire necessity could persuade a decent man or woman to take refuge in them ; but they were entirely congenial to the worst class of tramp or of robust, semi-criminal outcast ; and as winter came on, representatives of those types and of those kin to them flocked to the city, where they were thus provided with free lodging."

NO MORE TRAMP LODGING HOUSES.

These tramp places were closed one by one, and "the board announced that everything possible should be done to force the shiftless or vicious to go to places where they could be dealt with properly, while the honest workingman or woman who was in temporary need would be directed to charitable resorts that were always open to them. That the change was made was due chiefly to the establishment by the Board of Charities of a Municipal Lodging House, where all homeless wanderers were received, were forced to bathe, were given night-clothes before going to bed, and were made to work next morning.

"When the present board took office, the force was honey-combed with corruption. Every species of purveyor of vice was allowed to ply his or her trade unmolested, partly in consideration of paying blackmail to the police, partly in consideration of information as to the criminals who belonged to the unprotected classes. The result was twofold. The police officers possessed ill-gotten funds, out of which they could afford to pay for assistance in catching criminals, and they warred against one half of the criminal class with, as allies, the other and more insidiously hurtful half.

"We broke up this whole business of blackmail and protection. The fence and the bunco-steerer, the law-breaking liquor seller, the gambler, and the keeper of a disorderly house are no longer protected ; and the police no longer obtain from them either money or information to assist in their warfare against burglars, highway robbers, and murderers.

"Nevertheless, so great has been the improvement in the spirit of the force that they have actually, although deprived of their former corrupt allies, done better work than ever before against those criminals who threatened life and property. Fewer crimes of violence, fewer murders and burglaries, relatively to the population of the city, have occurred than in the past ; while the total number of arrests of criminals has increased, and the number of cases in which no arrest followed the commission of a crime has decreased.

GREATER EFFICIENCY DEMANDED.

"At one time certain of the more timid or less conscientious members of the well-to-do classes in the community, being misled by the interested clamor of certain of the newspapers, allies or tools of the beneficiaries of the system of corruption, actually wished the board to go back to the old evil methods, and to tolerate blackmail and vice, if by so doing they could put a stop to crimes of violence. The Board refused to consider for one moment the readoption of any such policy ; it insisted on entire honesty in the force, and demanded at the same time a greater degree of efficiency than ever before. The result has amply justified its judgment.

"The Liquor Tax Law has lightened our labors considerably because of the excellent provision requiring saloonkeepers to keep their bars exposed during prohibited hours. On the other hand, we have met with considerable difficulty owing to the establishment of 'fake hotels,' and the acceptance by the courts of the theory that a man who purchases a sandwich in a hotel is a guest ; that he is entitled to consider that sandwich, whether eaten or not, as a meal, and is entitled to have all the liquor he wants with it."

Mr. Roosevelt's experience as Police Commissioner has been given in graphic style by Mr. Jacob A. Riis, one of the friends of Roosevelt, a well known advocate of all municipal reforms.

"Haroun-al-Roosevelt the newspapers have nicknamed the resident of the New York city police board, in good-natured banter at his fashion of disciplining his men by going about at night to see for himself what they are doing. In point of fact, there is much in the methods of the reform board to suggest the beneficent rule of the mythical Caliph. Mayor Strong's method of solving the most difficult problem with which his administration had to deal points to his possessing the faculty that made King William Emperor of a united Germany—that of choosing his advisers well, which is the very genius of leadership.

A BOARD FITTED FOR ITS WORK.

"It would be difficult to get four men together better fitted to do the great work they have to do than Commissioners Theodore Roosevelt, Andrew D. Parker, Avery D. Andrews and Frederick D. Grant. In four short weeks they have succeeded in impressing their purpose on a demoralized force to an extent which the timid citizens who saw the old order of things upset with misgivings must have thought incredible. Practically, their work is done already. What remains to be done is important, but not nearly so much so as the demonstration to the force, and to the citizens, that the thing was possible; that in the struggle between moral force and political 'pull,' the former might win,—must win, however uneven the apparent odds.

"This was the issue from the first, and to the demonstration of it the new board promptly directed its efforts. It found a force, misnamed the 'finest,' stricken through and through with the dry-rot of politics. The blackmail, brutality, shirking, and all the rest were mere symptoms of the general disorder. The very first act of the board—viz., to extend civil service rule to the appointments still left open in the department—was at once an answer and a challenge to the politicians who swarmed in Mulberry Street, confident of being able to 'make a line' on the new men

and the new order of things. This effort they have not abandoned in the face of many discouragements. 'The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not.' It is the nature of Tammany politics that it should not appreciate the quality of moral force. They have nothing in common.

" 'You will yield, too. You are but human,' said the oldest and wariest of the politicians, as he left Mulberry Street a beaten man. Mr. Roosevelt's answer was to send to the board his proposition, which it promptly adopted, to close the last avenue of the politician to police patronage.

" 'We want the civil service law applied to appointments here,' he said, in explanation, 'not because it is the ideal way, but because it is the only way you can knock the politicians out,' and you have to do that to get anywhere."

MOST CONSPICUOUS TRAITS.

"The speech sufficiently described Mr. Roosevelt. It is in keeping with all that has ever been known of him as a public man. Force and courage are his conspicuous characteristics. To the suggestion that the retirement of the old heads of the force might invite ruffianism and disorder, he responded curtly, 'There shall be order.' And there is order. In the board his restless energy is admirably supplemented by the cool head of Mr. Parker—who, with the training of the lawyer combines a keen intelligence and a breadth of view which make the two men, in everything so different, approach their task by different paths, yet in the same spirit—and by the untiring zeal and labors of Major Andrews, the treasurer, and Colonel Grant.

"Both of these latter officials possess the genius for the patience with details, without which effectual reform of so great a body as the police force would be impossible. Already Colonel Grant's overhauling of the Department's supply accounts has disclosed some of the numerous small leaks through which the city's revenues were wasted under a corrupt régime, and has succeeded in stopping them.

"That the board has no cut-and-ried theories of police

management, so far from being the hindrance to it which its early critics suggested, has proved instead its strongest point. It had no traditions to break from. 'We have no patent cure-all for the department,' said Mr. Roosevelt, speaking for his colleagues. 'Some things are plain. We want honesty, plain, common honesty, in the force, and politics out of it. For the rest, we are willing to fit our theories to the facts as we make them out.'

"Already, in pursuance of this plan, drunkards have been made to understand that the police force is no place for them; party managers, that the day of the ignorant, bullying election officer is past. Promotions are made on probation, not for 'influence.' Policemen have been made to resign membership in political clubs. Reward follows as swiftly upon the brave act as punishment on misconduct. The clubber knows that he runs the certain risk of prompt dismissal. And this is the work of one short month.

PATROLLING STREETS AT ALL HOURS OF NIGHT.

"Mr. Roosevelt's *tour de force*, as it has been wittily called, had its amusing side, but its purpose was not to amuse. With the practical common sense of the man, he chose for his night patrol through the streets the small hours in the morning, when the demand for a policeman, if it arises at all, is most urgent, and when the temptation to shirk is almost the greatest. As a matter of fact, the way in which posts were patrolled at that hour had long been a scandal.

"Mr. Roosevelt's trip demonstrated how empty was the boast of superior excellence on which the retired chiefs had been trading. The demoralization was complete. Two policemen in a dozen were attending to business. The rest were loafing, or were not found at all until the president's message summoned them to headquarters later in the morning to hear what he thought of them. New York streets have been better policed every hour since."

The great change for the better in the police force became more and more apparent. From the superintendent down to the

lowest roundsman and substitute the sterling integrity of Roosevelt was felt, and a new order of things was instituted. For appointments on the force a kind of Civil Service examination was adopted. Searching inquiries were put to the men who presented themselves for examination. Mr. Roosevelt said to one man who was plainly nervous while undergoing the ordeal :

"You are the man Father-So-and-so spoke to me about?"

"Yes, sir ; but I didn't suppose being a Catholic made any difference." "Of course not," was the instant reply. "I don't care whether you are a Catholic, Protestant, or a Jew, or a Gentile. I think you'll do. Tell Father So-and-so if he has any more men like you to send them down here. I pass you ; go and see the other commissioners."

That policeman never took blackmail. There were hundreds like him. This for having a good man at the head of police affairs.

AN OFFICER BOUGHT FOR MONEY.

And now take a personal illustration to show what a bad man at the head may do. Says an observer : "I was coming to New York on the Day Express. I got into conversation with a man who said that he was the chief of police in one of the large cities in the State of——. He showed me his shield to prove his statement. He had taken just enough liquor to be talkative. He said : 'I had no idea of coming East till last night, but I made a touch and I thought I would blow it in. You see it was this way ; I got a telephone message from the railroad station that three of the biggest crooks in the country were down there prepared to take a train. I jumped on a car and hurried down.' "What you doing here?" I asked. 'Nothin',' they said. 'We aint done nothin' here and we ain't goin' to. We are just passin' through.' "I knew they hadn't done anything in town, and so I said, 'How much money have you got?' "Only a little," they said. "Come, that won't do," I replied. "Shell out or up you go."

"I could easily have fixed 'em ; put up a job on 'em or sent 'em up as suspicious characters, and so they had to give up. They had fifteen hundred dollars. I took twelve hundred, run

'em out of town, and now I'm going to have a good time." "I haven't the slightest doubt he told the truth. I saw his money. He was the nephew of one of the best known men in one of our Eastern cities, a man whom I knew well, and he was going East to visit his uncle. Comment on the character of the police force under such a man is unnecessary."

"Within a month," says a well-known magazine—'McClure's'—"Mr. Roosevelt was the most hated as well as the best loved man in New York. With characteristic clearness of vision he had determined at once on a course of action, and having determined upon it he proceeded with something of the energy of a steam engine to put it into force. His reasoning had all the simplicity of originality. He was appointed to enforce the laws as they appeared on the statute books. He enforced them. That was originality; it rarely had been done before. The excise law compelling saloons to close on Sunday had been enforced against the poorer saloon keepers in order that the police might levy blackmail on the wealthy liquor dealers. Mr. Roosevelt enforced it impartially against both rich and poor. To him a dead-letter law was as bad as hypocrisy in the church."

CHAPTER IX.

A MASTERLY SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

ROOSEVELT'S NAVAL HISTORY—APPOINTED ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY—EXCITEMENT IN THE NAVY DEPARTMENT—PREDICTED THAT THERE WOULD BE WAR WITH SPAIN—VIGOROUS PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONFLICT—GUN PRACTICE REQUIRED—CALL FOR LARGE APPROPRIATIONS—VIRTUALLY AT THE HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT—A REMARKABLE SPEECH. CHOICE OF DEWEY FOR COMMANDER OF PACIFIC SQUADRON. SPAIN'S INFAMOUS RULE IN CUBA—BLOWING UP OF THE "MAINE"—ORDERS SENT TO DEWEY—ROOSEVELT'S RESIGNATION TO RECRUIT THE ROUGH RIDERS.

MR. ROOSEVELT had already written and published his "Naval History of the War of 1812." When first announced it was supposed this history would be nothing more than a rehash of histories already written on the American Navy, or such a work as would merely satisfy the ambition for authorship of a young man not long out of college.

No one imagined that it would contribute very much to the knowledge already in the possession of the public. The style might be new, the way of putting things might have some little merit, but it was thought the subject matter would not commend the work to critics or scholars. It would be thrown, like a thousand other works, into the world of books and left to its fate.

But this naval history soon gave evidence that it was capable of taking care of itself. It was an exhaustive work; it had all the marks of profound research and careful preparation; its style was picturesque, vigorous and attractive; its accuracy was confirmed by references of undoubted authority; it was plain that it was destined to take high rank as a standard history on the brilliant achievements of our navy. It soon found its way into the Navy Department at Washington, and its undoubted merit was fully recognized.

Mr. Roosevelt showed himself to be a thorough master of his subject; he was making a valuable contribution to our historical literature, and at the same time was establishing his reputation as an expert in all naval matters.

It was but natural, therefore, that when President McKinley, in 1897, wanted an Assistant Secretary of the Navy to act in conjunction with Secretary John D. Long, Mr. Roosevelt should receive the appointment. He was eminently fitted for the place. His whole political career had marked him as an unique man. His record was without a stain. He enjoyed the absolute confidence of the great majority of his countrymen—all, in fact, except the New York politicians, whose nefarious schemes and practices he had fought with so much courage and success. He went to Washington carrying with him the same purposes and high ideals that had distinguished him in his whole previous career.

CONSTERNATION IN THE DEPARTMENT.

When it became known that he was to be the Assistant Secretary of the Navy the subordinates in the department were filled with apprehensions that amounted almost to alarm. They expected his advent would be somewhat like that of a bull in a china shop. They had heard of his firm dealing with the New York police; they knew much of his prominent characteristics and resolute methods, and wondered if he were not an Elijah who had come to trouble Israel.

"Many were the conjectures," writes Judge Advocate General Samuel C. Lemly of the Navy, "as to what course the new appointee would pursue in the Navy Department, for his reputation as a reformer was both great and widespread, and, in truth, none of us was ready to admit the need for his own reformation. Moreover, Mr. Roosevelt had never served in a subordinate capacity. How, then, would he drop into such a position? Could he follow and assist as well as lead and command? I recall distinctly that, thanks to the vigilance of our librarian, copies of the various books which the new appointee had written suddenly appeared in the Navy Department Library, and there was such a demand for

these books that I had to wait until my senior officers had read before I could even have so much as a look at them.

"Although necessarily new to naval methods and administration, Mr. Roosevelt had long been a student of naval matters, historical and otherwise. I for one soon found that he possessed—having a most retentive memory—a very remarkable knowledge of the technique of the new navy, and I was in consequence constantly surprised at his off-hand but invariably correct statement of the batteries, horsepower, speed, thickness of armor, and characteristics of our own and foreign naval vessels recently built, as well as those under construction."

CAPACITY FOR WORK AND MASTERY.

It was soon found that the new Secretary had neither horns nor hoofs. He was just an ordinary man, with a capacity for work and for mastery of details that singled him out as one who stood in a class by himself. His rule had always been to work hard when he worked, and play hard when he played. It was soon evident that he was not in the Navy Department for recreation. Under his magic touch every nerve in the place grew tense. The department was so well organized that he had little to do except to keep the machinery in motion and impart to it a new impulse.

He did not have a very exalted opinion of the American navy as compared with the other navies the world, although we had some good battleships. As to the rest, we had a lot of venerable tubs that were good enough in time of peace, but would be naval absurdities in time of war. The excuse was that we were not a warlike nation, never made any great account of our land and naval forces, and had no idea we would be involved in war with any foreign power. But now there were clouds on the horizon; trouble was brewing with Spain; we might need something besides respectable tubs on the ocean. It would be a poor time to create a navy after a declaration of war.

The Assistant Secretary, while on a visit of inspection to the Naval Academy at Annapolis, addressed a class of naval cadets on

Washington's forgotten maxim: "To be prepared for war is the most effectual means to promote peace." He argued in this address, not that we were preparing for war, but that preparation for war was the surest guaranty for peace. He believed that arbitration was an excellent thing, but that ultimately to have this country at peace with foreign nations was to place reliance upon a first-class fleet of first-class battleships, rather than upon any arbitration treaty man could devise.

IGNOBLE PEACE WORSE THAN WAR.

"We but keep to the traditions of Washington," said Mr. Roosevelt, "to the traditions of all great Americans who struggled for the real greatness of America, when we strive to build up those fighting qualities for the lack of which in a nation, as in an individual, no refinement, no culture, no wealth, no material prosperity, can atone. While we are sincere and earnest in our advocacy of peace, we must not forget that an ignoble peace is worse than any war. We should engrave in our legislative halls those splendid lines of Lowell:

"Come, Peace! not like a mourner bowed
For honor lost and dear ones wasted,
But proud, to meet a people proud,
With eyes that tell of triumph tasted!"

"All the great masterful races have been fighting races. Cowardice in a race, as in an individual, is the unpardonable sin. The timid man cannot fight, or the selfish, short-sighted, or foolish man who will not take the steps that will enable him to fight, stand on almost the same plane."

A year before our war with Spain broke out Mr. Roosevelt made the following significant statements:

"The enemies we may have to face will come from over the sea; they may come from Europe, or they may come from Asia. Events move fast in the West; but this generation has been forced to see that they move even faster in the oldest East. Our interests are as great in the Pacific as in the Atlantic, in the Hawaiian Islands as in the West Indies. Merely for the protec-

tion of our own shores, we need a great navy; and what is more, we need it to protect our interests in the islands from which it is possible to command our shores and to protect our commerce on the high seas."

Mr. Roosevelt studied the needs of our navy in the possible event of war. Practice—thorough practice behind the guns—he declared to be indispensable. Men should learn how to shoot, and only actual practice could teach them this. He began to buy guns and ammunition, and all that was needed to fully equip our warships. Repairs on old vessels went on while work was being done on the new. He laid in large supplies of coal at every naval supply station. He ordered every ship's crew recruited to its full strength.

"We shall be compelled to fight Spain within a year," he said to a friend months before the cruiser "Maine" was blown up in Havana harbor.

"In ordinary routine matters," he said, "if a man does ordinarily well I am satisfied, but if he doesn't do the work of importance in the navy with the snap and vigor I believe is necessary, I'll pinch him till he squeals."

SAW THE STORM OF WAR APPROACHING.

This is evidence that he had a presentiment of coming trouble and believed the time was at hand for rapid work and thorough preparation. There could be no shirking now, no easy-going, slipshod way of administering the naval affairs of the nation. He was not a mere figurehead himself, and he wanted no figureheads around him. For the battleships he wanted the best crews that could be obtained, and these must be thoroughly drilled up to the point of the greatest efficiency.

"It is useless," he said, "to spend millions of dollars in building perfect fighting machines unless we make the personnel which is to handle these machines equally perfect. We have an excellent navy now, but we never can afford to relax our efforts to make it better still. Next time we may have to face some enemy far more formidable than Spain. In my judgment, the personnel

bill will markedly increase the efficiency of our already efficient officers."

A story is related that shows what Mr. Roosevelt considered to be the real needs of the navy. Shortly after his appointment he asked for an appropriation of \$800,000 for the purchase of ammunition. It was granted, and a few months later he asked for another appropriation of \$500,000 for the same purpose. When asked what had become of the first appropriation, he replied: "Every cent of it has been spent for powder and shot, and every bit of powder and shot has been fired." When he was asked what he would do with the additional \$500,000, he replied: "Use every dollar of that, too, within the next thirty days in practice shooting."

PLANS FOR INCREASING THE NAVY.

It is but fair to say that in all Mr. Roosevelt planned, all the measures adopted to increase the efficiency of our navy, and in all the changes he adopted to better the service, he was ably seconded by the majority of our naval officers. They, more than others, saw the necessity for doing the work he had so resolutely undertaken, and being loyal, brave and competent, they took pride in the adoption of the most energetic means for accomplishing the desired result. And, below the officers, every man could be depended upon to make for himself a record. There was not one who was not prepared to suffer any privation, encounter any danger, plunge into the thick of battle, if battle should come, and add glory to the history of our navy, whose achievements in the past have been the pride of the nation.

Such was the spirit that animated officers and subordinates. How grandly it was exhibited in the naval battles and victories that put a sudden termination to our war with Spain is known to all men. There was no need of preparation so far as the gallant heroes themselves were concerned. They were ready. They stood at attention, waiting to receive commands. If there was a single coward among them he has never been discovered. They were animated by the heroic spirit displayed by Paul Jones in the Revolution; and Perry on Lake Erie in the War of 1812.

Mr. Roosevelt did not, therefore, direct his energies so much to the officers and crews as to other matters. The crews needed gun practice, and this he gave them. It grieved the close-fisted economists in Congress—men who wanted no measure adopted for any object unless it could be done cheap—to see so much money wasted in powder and shot—literally burnt up and fired off. Later events proved the wisdom of burning money and shooting it away. It cost something to turn a raw midddy into a good gunner, but it was a good investment. In the battles that followed, the “men behind the guns” won the victories, and they did it because they knew how to shoot.

THE MAN WHO ORGANIZED VICTORY.

A recent authority says of Mr. Roosevelt: “As Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he was virtually head of the department. He was a Carnot who ‘organized victory.’ He foresaw the Spanish war a year before it came, and collected ammunition, insisted on the practice for improving marksmanship on board all the vessels and made the navy ready.” Said the late Senator Cushman K. Davis, chairman of the committee on foreign relations: “If it had not been for Roosevelt, Dewey would not have been able to strike the blow that he dealt at Manila. Roosevelt’s sagacity, energy and promptness saved us.

Speaking of being prepared for war in the event of its coming Mr. Roosevelt said :

“Even if the enemy did not interfere with our efforts, which they undoubtedly would, it would take from three to six months after the outbreak of a war for which we were unprepared before we could in the slightest degree remedy our unreadiness. We must therefore make up our minds once for all to the fact that it is too late to make ready for war when the fight has once begun. The preparation must come before that.

“In the case of the Civil War, none of these conditions applied. In 1861 we had a good fleet, and the Southern Confederacy had not a ship. We were able to blockade the Southern ports at once, and we could improvise engines of war more than sufficient to put

against those of an enemy which also had to improvise them, and who labored under even more disadvantages. The 'Monitor' was got ready in the nick of time to meet the 'Merrimac,' because the Confederates had to plan and build the latter while we were building and planning the former; but if ever we have to go to war with a modern military power we shall find its 'Merrimacs' already built, and it will then be altogether too late to build 'Monitors' to meet them.

"The enemies we may have to face will come from over the sea; they may come from Europe, or they may come from Asia. Events move fast in the West, but this generation has been forced to see that they move even faster in the oldest East. Our interests are as great in the Pacific as in the Atlantic, in the Hawaiian Islands as in the West Indies. Merely for the protection of our shores we need a great navy, and what is more, we need it to protect our interests in the islands from which it is possible to command our shores and to protect our commerce on the high seas.

MUST HAVE STRONG BATTLESHIPS.

"Still more is it necessary to have a fleet of great battleships if we intend to live up to the Monroe Doctrine and to insist upon its observance in the two Americas and the islands on either side of them. If a foreign power, whether in Europe or in Asia, should determine to assert its position in those lands wherein we feel that our influence should be supreme, there is but one way in which we can effectively interfere. Diplomacy is utterly useless when there is no force behind it; the diplomat is the servant, not the master, of the soldier. The prosperity of peace, commercial and material prosperity, gives no weight whatever when the clash of arms comes.

"Even great naked strength is useless if there is no immediate means through which that strength can manifest itself. If we mean to protect the people of the lands who look to us for protection from tyranny and aggression; if we mean to uphold our interests in the teeth of the formidable Old World powers, we can only do it by being ready at any time, if the provocation is sufficient, to meet them on the seas where the battle for supremacy

must be fought. Unless we are prepared so to meet them let us abandon all talk of devotion to the Monroe Doctrine or to the honor of the American name."

If it wishes to retain its self-respect, most certainly this nation cannot stand still and keep undimmed the honored traditions inherited from the men whose swords founded and preserved it. Mr. Roosevelt asks that the work of upbuilding our navy and of putting the United States where it should be go forward without hesitation. The whole country should ask it, and did, not in the interest of war, but in the interest of peace. A nation should never fight unless forced to fight, but it should always be ready to fight. The mere fact that it is in trim for fighting will generally spare it the necessity of fighting.

A POWERFUL NAVY PRESERVES PEACE.

"If this country now had a fleet of twenty-five ships of battle their existence would make it all the more likely that we should not have war. It is very important that we should as a race keep the virile fighting qualities and should be ready to use them at need; but it is not at all important to use them unless there is need. One of the surest ways to attain these qualities is to keep our navy in first-class trim.

"There never is and never has been on our part a desire to use a weapon because it has been well tempered. There is not the least danger that the possession of a good navy will render this country overbearing towards its neighbors. The direct contrary is the truth. An unmanly desire to avoid a quarrel is often the surest way to precipitate one, and utter unreadiness to fight is even surer.

"If in the future we have war it will almost certainly come from some action or lack of action on our part in the way of refusing to accept responsibilities at the proper time, or failing to prepare for war when war does not threaten. An ignoble peace is even worse than an unsuccessful war, but an unsuccessful war should leave behind it a legacy of bitter memories which would hurt our national development for a generation to come. It is true

that no nation could actually conquer us, owing to our isolated position, but we could be seriously harmed, even materially, by disasters that stopped far short of conquest; and in these matters, which are far more important than things! material, we could readily be damaged beyond repair.

"No material loss can begin to compensate for the loss of national self-respect. The damage to our commercial interests by the destruction of one of our coast cities would be nothing as compared to the humiliation which would be felt by every American worthy of the name if we had to submit to such an injury without amply avenging it. It has been finely said that 'A gentleman is one who is willing to lay down his life for little things;' that is, for those things which seem little to the man who cares only whether shares rise or fall in value, and to the timid doctrinaire who preaches timid peace from his cloistered study.

THE HIGHEST TYPE OF NATION.

"Much of that which is best and highest in national character is made up of glorious memories and traditions. The fight well fought, the life honorably lived, the death bravely met—those count for more in building a high and fine type of temper in a nation than any possible success in the stock market, than any possible prosperity in commerce or manufactures. A rich banker may be a valuable and useful citizen, but not a thousand rich bankers can leave to the country such a heritage as Farragut left, when, lashed in the rigging of the 'Hartford,' he forged past the forts and over the unseen death below, to try his wooden stern against the ironclad hull of the great Confederate ram.

"The people of some given section of our country may be better off because a shrewd and wealthy man has built up therein a great manufacturing business, or has extended a line of railroad past its doors, but the whole nation is better, the whole nation is braver, because Cushing pushed his little torpedo boat through the darkness to sink beside the sinking 'Albemarle.'

"Every feat of heroism makes us forever indebted to the man who performed it. All daring and courage, all iron endur-

ance of misfortune, all devotion to the ideal of honor and the glory of the flag, make for a finer and a nobler type of manhood. It is not only those who do and endure who are benefited, but also the countless thousands who are not themselves called upon to face the peril, to show the strength, or to win the reward. All of us lift our heads higher because those of our countrymen whose trade it is to meet danger have met it well and bravely. All of us are poorer for every base or ignoble deed done by an American, for every instance of selfishness or weakness or folly on the part of the people as a whole. We are all worse off when any of us fails at any point in his duty toward the State in time of peace, or his duty toward the State in time of war. If ever we had to meet defeat at the hands of a foreign foe, or had to submit tamely to wrong or insult, every man among us worthy of the name of an American would feel dishonored and debased.

ALL SHARE THE HONORS OF OUR HEROES.

"On the other hand, the memory of every triumph won by Americans, by just so much helps to make each American nobler and better. Every man among us is more fit to meet the duties and responsibilities of citizenship because of the perils over which, in the past, the nation has triumphed; because of the blood and sweat and tears, the labor and the anguish through which, in the days that have gone, our forefathers moved on to triumph.

"There are higher things in this life than the soft and easy enjoyment of material comfort. It is through strife or the readiness for strife that a nation must win greatness. We ask for a great navy partly because we think that the possession of such a navy is the surest guarantee of peace, and partly because we feel that no national life is worth having if the nation is not willing, when the need shall arise, to stake everything on the supreme arbitration of war, and to pour out its blood, its treasure, and its tears like water, rather than to submit to the loss of honor and renown.

"In closing, let me repeat that we ask for a great navy, we ask for an armament fit for the nation's need, not primarily to

fight, but to avert fighting. Preparedness deters the foe, and maintains right by the show of ready might without the use of violence. Peace, like freedom, is not a gift that tarries long in the hands of cowards, or of those too feeble or too short-sighted to deserve it; and we ask to be given the means to insure that honorable peace which alone is worth having."

When war was declared between the United States and Spain there was a marked difference between our land and naval forces in the matter of preparation. The regular army was limited to 25,000 men, and even at this limit the ranks were not full. President McKinley called for 125,000 volunteers. They appeared to leap from the ground, but there was no uniform for them—no adequate equipment, and no chance of putting them in the field until a thousand details had been attended to and a vast amount of preparation had been carried on, thus producing hurrying, delays and confusion. On the other hand, the navy was ready for the fray. There had been a man in Washington who looked after that matter, and although it was necessary to purchase some minor vessels and charter others, we were not unprepared for the conflict.

NAVAL FORCES READY FOR ACTION.

The officers who were to captain our squadrons were personally selected by the Assistant Secretary. One of those placed in command was Dewey, whose name was suggested to the naval council as a competent and efficient officer.

"Dewey!" exclaimed one of the board who knew the sailor well. "Dewey is a dude."

"What of that?" demanded Roosevelt.

"Why, you are the last man I should expect to want to advance a dude."

"I didn't want to advance him," said Mr. Roosevelt. "I'll leave that to you—afterward. All I want is a man over there—some fellow who will fight and make war. I don't care what kind of a collar he wears; that is, so long as it is some kind of a linen collar."

As already stated, Mr. Roosevelt foresaw the inevitable rup-

ture between our government and that of Spain. Events were hurrying swiftly to a crisis. The day of doom that shocked high heaven was fast approaching. No nation can forever escape a reckoning whose hands are stained with blood. The cry of the oppressed, the appeal for help from starving multitudes, the dying moans of helpless men, women and children could no longer go unheeded. There is a higher law that asserts itself in spite of thrones; it is the law of justice and humanity.

For many years the "Queen of the Antilles" had been the victim of Spanish greed and cruelty; the foot of the haughty Castilian had been placed upon her neck. On the very threshold of this land of ours, with all its boasted liberty and its proud record for defending the rights of humanity, scenes of barbarity and ruffianly cruelty had been enacted that were enough to make even savages blush.

BRAVE CUBANS FIGHTING FOR INDEPENDENCE.

Through all these years of misgovernment, extortion, injustice and rapine, a few brave spirits in Cuba had resisted their brazen foe—had appealed to the Cuban people to rise in resistance to their oppressor, and had fought bravely for the overthrow of tyranny. But even heroes cannot always win battles, and for the time may appear to be shedding their blood in a hopeless cause. It is, however, only in appearance. As "the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church," so the blood of patriots, sooner or later, bears fruit in the great battle for human freedom.

General Campos, with his Spanish army, did not succeed in quelling the spirit of revolt that was rife among the Cuban people. He was recalled, and General Weyler, who may well bear the base name of the modern Caligula, was sent to enact more severe measures. He had ruled in the Philippines with an iron hand, and this was sufficient reason for sending him to Cuba. In the chamber of horrors that commemorates rulers branded with eternal infamy, Weyler holds the most conspicuous place. He is the presiding genius over the motley crew whose bloody deeds have called down the burning execrations of mankind. It is one of the

mysteries of Providence that a monster so black and foul should be permitted to dwell on the face of the earth.

Weyler's notorious "reconcentrado" order, which huddled the inhabitants of Cuba into the towns, there to die of hunger and starvation—or, if they escaped this fate, to pine in sickness and want—was the very refinement of barbarity. The helpless victims of his infernal atrocity perished by thousands.

Our whole country was stirred by this appalling spectacle. Many persons found it hard to believe that such inhuman deeds were being enacted at our very door. Several representatives of our Government went to Cuba to get a near view of the situation and see what truth there really was in the reports that had shocked every moral sense of the American people.

THRILLING SPEECH IN THE SENATE.

Among others who visited Cuba was Senator John M. Thurston, of Nebraska, who was accompanied by his wife, an estimable lady then in her last illness. She witnessed the horrors, the half of which had not been told, saw the pale, ghastly faces of men, women, children, and, turning away finally from spectacles that froze her blood and made her heart-sick, asked with her dying breath that her husband should promise to lift up his voice in the Senate at Washington and plead the cause of bleeding Cuba.

When her sorrowing husband rose to address the Senate, he said: "I have a right to speak. I give you a message from silent lips; and if I held my peace when such a question is under discussion, if I refrained from testifying to the atrocious cruelties inflicted upon the people of Cuba, I should falter in my trust; I should fail in my duty to one whose heart was broken while a nation hesitated."

Such an appeal was not made for effect. Thrilling and earnest as it was, it was more than justified by the facts in the situation.

When the cruiser "Maine" was blown up in Havana harbor, on February 15, 1898, it was conceded by all thoughtful men that war was inevitable. Roosevelt's prophecy was coming true with

startling fulfillment. President McKinley was opposed to war, except as a last resort. His position was right; he knew it to be so, and he refused to rush into a conflict with a foreign power until all means for settling the trouble had been exhausted. There are still those who believe that if he could have had a free hand war would have been averted.

But such an infamous deed as the blowing up of the "Maine" could not be condoned by a people possessed of any courage and self-respect. There was not water enough in all the southern seas to wash out the stain of such a crime. The nation promptly addressed itself to the stern arbitrament of the sword.

FIRST DESPATCH SENT TO DEWEY.

On February 25th, Mr. Roosevelt sent a confidential despatch to Dewey, in which he said:

"Order the squadron, except 'Monocacy' to Hong Kong. Keep full of coal. In the event of a declaration of war with Spain your duty will be to see that the Spanish squadron does not leave the Asiatic coast, and then offensive operations in Philippine Islands. Keep 'Olympia' until further orders. A footnote by the Bureau of Navigation says: "'Olympia' had had orders to proceed to United States." This despatch of Mr. Roosevelt's was the first that was sent by our government in regard to the taking of the Philippines.

Mr. Roosevelt's preparations for the coming conflict reached to the other side of the globe. When Admiral Dewey arrived at Hong Kong with our Pacific squadron he found large stores of coal, ammunition, provisions and all other supplies that could possibly be needed to put the fleet in the very best condition for active operations. It was at Roosevelt's suggestion and urgent solicitation that the order from the Navy Department, which has since become famous, was sent to Dewey, and he was directed to proceed to Manila and "capture or destroy the ships of the enemy."

The brilliant outcome of that move on the part of the commander is proof that Roosevelt was not mistaken in his man.

The "dude" was master of the situation, and in one day stepped into the front rank of naval heroes. If the roar of his guns, that shook old Spain to the centre, could have been interpreted, it would have said in the most emphatic tones, "If you have any more 'dudes' of this sort they are eligible to appointment in the United States naval service." The question was not whether Dewey was "well dressed," but whether he could fight, and, in truth, it must be said that at Manila his clothes did not seem to trouble him.

A writer gives this account of the Assistant Secretary's unexpected action: "Activity in the Navy Department was not enough for a man of Mr. Roosevelt's calibre. Late in April, 1898, he said to one of the naval officials: 'There is nothing more for me to do here. I've got to get into the fight myself.'"

RESOLVED TO TAKE THE FIELD.

"His 'strenuous' nature could not be reconciled to inactivity. To have no part in a war that involved the honor and prestige of the nation was a thought too humiliating to be borne. He knew the calibre of the men on the western plains and ranches—the stuff of which they were made—and he felt sure that once in the fight they would render an account of themselves that history would record in glowing terms.

"There were rumors current before he actually resigned of his intention to do so, and of his proposed plan of raising a cowboy regiment for Dr. Leonard Wood and himself to lead to Cuba. Leading newspapers at once urged him to remain at Washington. They told him that he was the man for the place, and they warned him that he was 'ruining his career.' They said there are plenty of men to stop bullets, but very few who could manage a navy. But he resigned, nevertheless, in due and official form, on May 6th."

The correspondence which passed between Secretary Long and Mr. Roosevelt with reference to his retirement from the Navy Department is something out of the ordinary in such proceedings. Under date of May 6, 1898, Mr. Roosevelt wrote to Secretary Long,

inclosing a letter to the President tendering his resignation as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and saying:

"My Dear Mr. Secretary: Let me add one word personally. I don't suppose I shall ever have a chief under whom I shall enjoy serving as I have enjoyed serving under you, nor one toward whom I shall feel the same affectionate regard. It is a good thing for a man to have, as I have had in you, a chief whose whole conduct in office, as seen by those most intimately connected with him, has been guided solely by resolute disinterestedness and single-minded devotion to the public interest.

"I hate to leave you more than I can say. I deeply appreciate, and am deeply touched by, the confidence you have put in me and the more than generous and kindly spirit you have always shown toward me. I have grown not only to respect you as my superior officer, but to value your friendship very highly; and I trust I have profited by association with one of the most high-minded and upright public servants it has been my good fortune to meet."

REPLY OF SECRETARY LONG.

Secretary Long replied, under date of May 7th, as follows:

"My Dear Mr. Roosevelt: I have your letter of resignation to the President, but, as I have told you so many times, I have it with the utmost regret. I have often expressed, perhaps too emphatically and harshly, my conviction that you ought not to leave the post of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, where your services have not only been of such great value, but of so much inspiration to me and to the whole service. But now that you have determined to go to the front, I feel bound to say that, while I do not approve of the change, I do most heartily appreciate the patriotism and the sincere fidelity which actuate you.

"Let me assure you how profoundly I feel the loss I sustain in your going. Your energy, industry, and great knowledge of naval interests, and especially your inspiring influence in stimulating and lifting the whole tone of the personnel of the navy, have been invaluable. I cannot close this reply to your letter

without telling you also what an affectionate personal regard I have come to feel for you as a man of the truest temper and most loyal friendship. I rejoice that one who has so much capacity for public service and for winning personal friendships has the promise of so many years of useful and loving life before him."

Mr. Roosevelt's letter to the President was as follows :

"I have the honor herewith to tender my resignation through the Secretary of the Navy, and at his request make it take effect when you desire. It is with the greatest reluctance that I sever my connection with your administration, and I only do it because I hope thereby to have the chance to take an even more active part in carrying out one of the great works of your administration—the freeing of Cuba and the driving of Spain from the western hemisphere. I shall always deeply appreciate your kindness to me, and shall always try to show myself worthy of the trust you have reposed in me."

The President's answer, through Secretary Porter, was as follows :

"My Dear Mr. Secretary: Although the President was obliged to accept your resignation of recent date, I can assure you that he has done so with very great regret. Only the circumstances mentioned in your letter and your decided and changeable preference for your new patriotic work has induced the President to consent to your severing your present connection with the administration. Your services here during your entire term of office have been faithful, able and successful in the highest degree, and no one appreciates this fact more keenly than the President himself. Without doubt your connection with the navy will be beneficially felt in several of its departments for many years to come.

"In the President's behalf, therefore, I wish at this time to thank you most heartily and to wish you all success in your new and important undertaking, for which I hope and predict a brilliantly victorious result.

"JOHN ADDISON PORTER."

CHAPTER X.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S FAMOUS ROUGH RIDERS.

REGIMENT RECRUITED AT SAN ANTONIO—MEN FROM THE TERRITORIES AND FROM THE EAST—GREAT DIVERSITY OF CHARACTER AND SOCIAL POSITION—COWBOYS AND INDIANS—COLLEGE GRADUATES—FAMOUS ATHLETES—RIGID DISCIPLINE—HURRYING PREPARATIONS—JOURNEY TO TAMPA—VEXATIOUS DELAYS—LACK OF MANAGEMENT—ON BOARD THE "YUCATAN"—VOYAGE TO SANTIAGO—LANDING THE TROOPS ON CUBAN SOIL.

WHEN Mr. Roosevelt resolved to have a hand in the impending war, he did not seek a position in the navy. As well posted as he was on all naval matters, he was not a seaman. He was a landsman and not a sailor. He could steer a bucking mustang, but not a ship. He was to do his fighting on land, and, naturally, his mind turned toward the hardy ranchmen and dashing cowboys he had known in the West. He believed that if he could organize a regiment of these brave fellows he could render a service that would help to crown our arms with glory.

He applied for a commission in the army of volunteers that hurried forward to meet the call of President McKinley. To the remonstrances of friends and Washington officials, who declared he was more needed in the Navy Department than anywhere else, he turned a deaf ear. He had rendered invaluable service in placing the navy in the best possible condition for the approaching struggle, and was resolved now to follow our flag to the battlefield.

Preliminaries were soon arranged. He passed a good physical examination, and was sworn into service by General Corbin. As soon as it was announced that he was to organize a regiment and go with it to the front his office presented a strange scene. All sorts of men from all sorts of places came to make application for a chance to serve in the ranks. They clamored, they used all the arts of persuasion, they set up against one another a fierce

rivalry, so eager were these loyal sons of the nation to honor the flag and prove their patriotism.

Some of them were rough-looking cowboys who had hurried to Washington to make sure of being accepted. They had the air, the dress, the bold demeanor of men who had shot big game, chased wild steers, tried conclusions with Indians, and their tall athletic figures, broad brims and bronzed faces made them very conspicuous, and indicated that, with their experiences of western life and hardships, they would make formidable fighters.

VOLUNTEERS FROM HIGHEST SOCIAL RANKS.

In marked contrast with these, others were the sons of well-known families, who had been reared in wealth and luxury. They came from homes of refinement, and not a few were educated young men and graduates of colleges. As Mr. Roosevelt is a graduate of Harvard, many from that institution wished to follow him and try the fortunes of war. Indeed, he could not help querying whether these noble sons of distinguished sires had stopped to count the cost of a soldier's life in active service, or realized its hardships and dangers.

Among others, were three or four policemen from New York, who had known Roosevelt when he was their chief, and could not now resist the fascination of a life of heroism under such a leader. It was evident that he could have raised an army of 50,000 men on short notice if he could have been appointed commander.

From the outset Mr. Roosevelt objected to the designation of "Rough Riders" being given in advance to the regiment of mounted rifles. "The objection to that term," he said, "is that people who read the newspapers may get the impression that the regiment is to be a hippodrome affair. Those who get that idea will discover that it is a mistake. The regiment may be one of rough riders, but they will be as orderly, obedient, and generally well-disciplined a body as any equal number of men in any branch of the service. But they will not make a show. They go out for business, and when they do business no one will entertain for a moment the notion that they are part of a show."

"Some persons," wrote Mr. Byron P. Stephenson, at this time, "were inclined to sneer at Theodore Roosevelt for deserting his post as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, where his services were of the greatest value to the country. There is something humorous in the idea of a man of forty and the father of six children raising a troop of cowboys, hunting men, and mounted policemen, and going as its second in command to fight the Spaniards. Mr. Roosevelt is not lacking in a sense of humor, and probably sees the comical side of the situation as well as any one. But Theodore Roosevelt is an anachronism. He belongs not to the dawn of the twentieth century, but to the mediæval days. He was cut out for a crusader. He is always ready to fight for an idea. He would have delighted Cœur de Lion."

EXPLOITS OF MOUNTED HEROES.

Our country's history affords some parallels to the unique character of the Rough Riders. "Old Hickory" at New Orleans led an army of brave fighters; Kit Carson's rangers were famous in their day; so were Captain May's mounted heroes in the Mexican war. If the leader can be found the men can also be found who are fashioned for valorous exploits. We rather frown upon what in common phrase is called the dare-devil spirit, but there may be emergencies and crises when it means victory.

Mr. Roosevelt had been schooled somewhat in military tactics before he prepared to take the field. In 1884 he was a lieutenant in the Eighth Regiment of the National Guard of New York. He remained with the regiment more than four years, and rose to the rank of captain. President McKinley offered to make him colonel of the Rough Riders, and doubtless he would have accepted the commission if he had considered himself sufficiently versed in military tactics to make a competent commander.

His reply was, "I am not fitted to command a regiment for I have no recent military training. Later, after I have gained some experience, perhaps that may come." Not only did he reach the position of colonel, but his gallantry and heroic services were recognized by a medal of honor.

Dr. Leonard Wood, of Massachusetts, was appointed colonel. He was a captain and assistant surgeon of regulars, doing duty at the time in personal attendance on the President and Secretary of War. Roosevelt was made lieutenant-colonel. The two men had never met until Colonel Wood was called to Washington, but there was so much in common between them that they soon became fast friends. Each was a sturdy specimen of physical manhood; each was a man of high resolves and noble ideals; each was a thorough American, imbued with our national spirit; each was eager for active service in the war. These two men formed a host in themselves.

KIND WORDS FOR COLONEL WOOD.

Mr. Roosevelt published in "Scribner's Magazine" the following appreciative notice of Colonel Wood:

"He had served in General Miles' inconceivably harassing campaigns against the Apaches, where he had displayed such courage that he won that most coveted of distinctions—the medal of honor; such extraordinary physical strength and endurance that he grew to be recognized as one of the two or three white men who could stand fatigue and hardship as well as an Apache; and such judgment that toward the close of the campaigns he was given, though a surgeon, the actual command of more than one expedition against the bands of renegade Indians. Like so many of the gallant fighters with whom it was later my good fortune to serve, he combined, in a very high degree, the qualities of entire manliness with entire uprightness and cleanliness of character.

"It was a pleasure to deal with a man of high ideals, who scorned everything mean and base, and who also possessed those robust and hardy qualities of body and mind for the lack of which no merely negative virtue can ever atone. He was by nature a soldier of the highest type, and, like most natural soldiers, he was, of course, born with a keen longing for adventure; and, though an excellent doctor, what he really desired was the chance to lead men in some kind of hazard."

Wood and Roosevelt proceeded to San Antonio, Texas, where

the regiment was to be recruited. It was expected that most of the recruits would be western plainsmen, cowboys and ranchmen, who were used to the rifle, the bucking horse, the hardships of frontier life, many of whom had known Mr. Roosevelt during his hunting excursions in the West and his visits to his ranch. Men were already on the ground from Arizona, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and others soon arrived from Indian Territory.

QUICK RESPONSE FROM CALL TO ARMS.

The call to arms had been heard through all these vast regions, and there came a quick response from just the men who were wanted for a military organization that was intended for special service. At first thought one might imagine that men so imbued with the spirit of adventure would never submit themselves to the exacting discipline required by their officers. Every one was a fighter on his own hook, but they had the intelligence and the instinct to see that strict discipline was essential to the highest efficiency, and that the grandest quality of a soldier is obedience to orders. It did not take long to get this rough material into shape.

As to arms, the best were chosen for the purpose. There were six shooters, carbines and Cuban machetes. The latter resembled the old-fashioned bushhook, known to farmers and woodsmen in clearing the ground of bushes and cutting roads through thickets and underbrush. In a hand-to-hand combat the machete is a most effective weapon, more so than the regular cavalry sabre, which, in this instance, it displaced. It was thought that it would be especially serviceable in the jungles and thickets so common to Cuba.

Speaking of the men who composed the regiment, Mr. Roosevelt said, in a speech, after arriving at his home at Oyster Bay, Long Island:

"We had in our regiment the man who was born in Maine, and the man who was born in Oregon, the man who had been brought up in one of the great States of the east and the man who had lived where he had never seen a great city and rarely a

town of more than one hundred people. We had the man of the sea coast and we had also the man who had never seen more water than was contained in the Pecos when the Pecos was 'up'; and it was one of the latter class whom I heard on one occasion, when his hat had blown off in midocean, chronicle the event to one of his comrades by saying, 'Oh, Jim! my hat blew into the crick!' To him the Atlantic was simply an unusually large creek."

Western men are fond of nicknames, and "Laughing Horse" was the name given Roosevelt. This gave rise to the following humorous verses by H. W. Phillips, which greatly pleased the cowboys:

"THE ROUGH RIDING BRIGADE."

"So, Teddy, you've come to your own again!

I thought it was mighty strange
That you had forgotten the good old times
And the friends of the cattle range.
But now the old gun has been polished up,
And I'm ready to cross the sea
And ride with you, Teddy Roosevelt!
Old 'Laughing Horse' for me!

"Together we've ridden the range, my lad,
And slept on the ground o' night;
And you were the boy for a high old time,
A cuss in a stand-up fight.
Besides, you were square as a die, old pard,
And all that a man should be.
So I'm with you, Teddy Roosevelt,
Old 'Laughing Horse' for me!

"The boys have just whooped to your call, my lad,
From the hot desert Texan trail
To where the wild yell of the blizzard's sweep
Makes mock of the coyote's wail.
Now, I don't know what the row's all about,
But my trail lies before me plain;
For, Teddy, you've said that the thing to do
Is to wallop the hide off Spain."

The whole country was deeply interested in Roosevelt's new regiment, and, indeed, was not a little amused. All accounts concerning it were eagerly read, and the universal opinion was that under his leadership the Rough Riders would be the heroes of the war. It seemed an odd spectacle for the sons of old aristocratic families of the East to be fighting side by side with the dare-devil horsemen and cattle herders of the plains. But a common cause annihilates all outward distinctions and welds men together like bands of steel. All sorts of characters and from all ranks of life helped to make up this unique regiment, and the very pride the men felt in their organization, and the determination that it should render a good account of itself was all that was needed to ensure order, faithful drilling and punctilious attention to every duty.

LEADERS TRIED AND TRUE.

"There was Bucky O'Neill, of Arizona, Captain of Troop A, the Mayor of Prescott, a famous sheriff throughout the West, for his feats of victorious warfare against the Apache, no less than against the white road agents and men-killers. His father had fought in Meagher's Brigade in the Civil War, and he himself a born soldier, a leader of men. He was a wild, reckless fellow, soft-spoken, and of dauntless courage and boundless ambition; he was staunchly loyal to his friends, and cared for his own men in every way.

"There was Captain Llewellen, of New Mexico, a good citizen, a political leader, and one of the most noted peace officers of the country; he had been shot four times in pitched fights with red marauders and white outlaws. There was Lieutenant Ballard, who had broken up the Black Jack gang, of ill-omened notoriety, and his captain, Curry, another New Mexican sheriff of fame. The officers from the Indian Territory had almost all served as marshals and deputy marshals; and in the Indian Territory service as a deputy marshal meant capacity to fight stand-up battles with gangs of outlaws.

"Three of our highest officers had been in the regular army. One was Major Alexander Brodie, from Arizona, afterward

lieutenant-colonel, who had lived for twenty years in the Territory, and had become a thorough westerner without sinking the West Pointer—a soldier by taste as well as training, whose men worshipped him and would follow him everywhere, as they would Bucky O'Neill or any other of their favorites. Brodie was running a big mining business, but when the "Maine" was blown up he abandoned everything and telegraphed right and left to bid his friends get ready for the fight he saw impending.

BEST SOLDIER OF THE REGIMENT.

"There was Micah Jenkins, the captain of Troop K, a gentle and courteous South Carolinian, on whom danger acted like wine. In action he was a perfect gamecock, and he won his majority for gallantry in battle. Finally, there was Allyn Capron, who was, on the whole, the best soldier in the regiment. In fact, I think he was the ideal of what an American army officer should be. He was the fifth in descent from father to son who had served in the Army of the United States, and, in body and mind alike he was fitted to play his part to perfection. Tall and lithe, a remarkable boxer and walker, a first-class rider and shot, with yellow hair and piercing blue eyes, he looked what he was—the archetype of the fighting man. He had under him one of the two companies from the Indian Territory, and he so soon impressed himself upon the wild spirit of his followers that he got them ahead in discipline faster than any other troop in the regiment, while at the same time taking care of their bodily wants.

"His ceaseless effort was so to train them, care for them, and so inspire them as to bring their fighting efficiency to the highest possible pitch. He required instant obedience, and tolerated not the slightest evasion of duty; but his mastery of his art was so thorough and his performance of his own duty so rigid that he won at once not merely their admiration, but that soldierly affection so readily given by the man in the ranks to the superior who cares for his men and leads them fearlessly in battle."

Of course, in this strange gathering of men who had been used to a free life in the plains there were some adventurers.

There were gamblers who would stake the last cent and even their top boots on the chances of a game. There were lawless youths who were emulating the exploits of dime novel heroes. There were outlaws, already notorious for misdeeds, and the law officers who had chased them. Several were Baptist and Methodist clergymen with reputations either good or doubtful, but who were fine fighters. The men, however, whose reputations were somewhat dubious were the exceptions. The majority were the bold, brave, honest and hardy frontiersmen, whose special mission is to blaze the way for advancing civilization.

A BRAVE PAWNEE INDIAN.

Indians were among the recruits—Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees, Chickasaws and others. A Pawnee Indian, known as Pollock, was one of the bravest fighters and most reliable men in the regiment. Having been well educated in an eastern school, and being a natural penman, he was made regimental clerk when the Rough Riders reached Santiago. It was a remarkable spectacle—remnants of the old Indian tribes fighting for the nation that for generations has been driving them toward the setting sun.

Colonel Roosevelt felt quite as much pride in his western recruits as he did in the club men, society devotees and college graduates of the east. Yet these men from old families, who had never leveled a rifle in pursuit of game or rounded up a herd of cattle or tramped over praries or braved the dangers of the wild frontiers, were not a bit less courageous or daring in the hour of battle than the headlong riders that came pouring into San Antonio.

Among others whose families were well known, one of the gallant fighters was Hamilton Fish, Jr., who lost his life at Santiago. The list of eastern recruits numbered such men as William Tiffany, Woodbury Kane, Townsend Burden, Jr., and Craig Wadsworth, who was a leader in the Genesee Valley Hunt Club and the son of a wealthy and distinguished family. Tiffany was grandnephew of Commodore Perry, the hero of the battle of Lake Erie, whose bravery, resulting in that notable

victory, is one of the grandest achievements written in our country's history.

There were also men who had been famous college athletes, whose endurance and pluck had been tested on the football field at Princeton and in the Varsity crew at Harvard. College oarsmen, football players, runners and noted scholars were among the hardy cavalymen who eagerly embraced the opportunity to prove their prowess and patriotism under the leadership of Roosevelt.

"Of course such a regiment, in spite of—or, I might almost say, because of—the characteristics which made the individual men exceptionally formidable as soldiers, could very easily have been spoiled. Any weakness in the command would have ruined it. On the other hand, to treat it from the standpoint of the martinet and military pedant would have been almost equally fatal. From the beginning we started out to secure the essentials of discipline, while laying just as little stress as possible on the non-essentials. The men were singularly quick to respond to any appeal to their intelligence and patriotism. The faults they committed were those due to ignorance only.

OFF-HAND WAYS IN CAMP.

"When Holderman, in announcing dinner to the colonel and the three majors, genially remarked, 'If you fellows don't come soon every thing'll get cold,' he had no thought of other than a kindly regard for their welfare, and was glad to modify his form of address on being told that it was not what could be described as conventionally military. When one of our sentinels who had with much labor learned the manual of arms saluted with great pride as I passed, and added, with a friendly nod, 'good evening, colonel,' this variation in the accepted formula on such occasions was meant and was accepted as mere friendly interest. In both cases the needed instruction was given and received in the same kindly spirit.

"One of the new Indian Territory recruits, after twenty-four hours' stay in camp, during which he had steadily held himself from the general interests, called on the colonel in his tent and

remarked, 'Well, colonel, I want to shake hands and say we're with you. We didn't know how we would like you fellows at first, but you're all right ; you know your business and you mean business, and you can count on us every time.'

"That same night, which was hot, mosquitoes were very annoying, and shortly after midnight both the colonel and I came to the doors of our respective tents, which adjoined one another. The sentinel in front was also fighting mosquitoes. As we came out we saw him pitch his gun about ten feet off and sit down to attack some of the pests which had swarmed up his trousers' leg. Happening to glance in our direction he nodded pleasantly, and, with unabashed and friendly feeling, remarked, 'Ain't they bad ?'"

NO RED TAPE FOR THE COLONEL.

It was something to get the men for the new regiment, but this was only a part of what was required. What are men without equipments? And with the slow motions of the War Department at Washington, and the ridiculous solicitude for red tape in that branch of the government, what immediate prospect was there for arming the regiment, furnishing horses and other supplies and getting away to the front? The manner in which Colonel Roosevelt ignored red tape was little less than amusing. Instead of the red tape helping the department to go ahead and accomplish something, the department was all wound around and tied up with it.

To all intents and purposes Colonel Roosevelt organized himself into a war department, and, whether anyone to this day knows how he did it, he equipped the Rough Riders in an incredibly short space of time, and saved at least one month when a month meant vastly more than thirty days. The regiment was soon placed in fighting trim. The cowboys, dudes and aristocrats understood one another perfectly. The men were all agreed upon one thing, and that was enough—they had enlisted to fight, and all they wanted was the chance.

The Ordnance Bureau at Washington thought freight trains

were fast enough for sending equipments to San Antonio. The supplies would get there some time or other. Colonel Roosevelt demanded express trains. Even these were sufficiently slow to satisfy the dilatory nature of men who always excuse their delays on the ground of "getting a good ready." When the rifles, revolvers and saddles reached the regiment it was immediately ordered to Tampa, Florida, whence it was to be transported to Cuba.

The journey to Tampa required four days. The officers and men numbered upwards of nine hundred, and besides these there were forty expert mule packers, nine hundred and sixty horses and one hundred and ninety-two mules. A party of Cubans at Scranton, Miss., presented themselves to Colonel Wood and offered their services, too, but it was found impossible to take them. The conduct of the troops suggested a pleasure excursion rather than a march to the battlefield, and although the journey was a wearisome one it was borne with unfailing good nature and a disposition to make light of all hardships.

MILLIONAIRES IN THE REGIMENT.

Troop K included among its members millionaires and the sons of many wealthy families. It was commanded by Lieutenant John M. Jenkins, who was formerly first lieutenant in the United States Fifth Cavalry. It may be mentioned in this connection that John Jacob Astor, of New York, equipped a battery and presented it to our government, enlisting at the same time and receiving a commission as lieutenant. Mr. Astor had nothing of the character of an adventurer; he was actuated by a patriotic desire to serve our country in her hour of need.

The Rough Riders left San Antonio May 29, 1898, and arrived at Tampa June 2d, where they pitched their tents and made themselves as comfortable as they could under a broiling sun. Already they had learned that the life of a soldier is not an easy one, but there was no murmur of complaint. Only once was there any expression of dissatisfaction. They had been told that orders would be issued immediately for the regiment to be transported to

Cuba, but four troops, with all the horses, would have to remain behind. This was a bitter disappointment. In describing it Colonel Roosevelt said: "I saw more than one among the officers and privates burst into tears when he found he could not go."

The want of good management was plainly evident at Tampa. An army of 15,367 officers and men, under command of General Shafter, were to embark on transports, bound for Santiago. After searching half a day to ascertain what transport had been assigned to the Rough Riders, it was found that they were to go on board the "Yucatan," yet two other regiments had been assigned to this ship. By quick work on the part of Colonels Wood and Roosevelt, the transport was brought in from mid-stream and the Rough Riders turned themselves into pack horses, carrying tents, commissary stores and accoutrements on their backs down the long quay. Once on board they were packed in like sardines.

GLAD TO ESCAPE FROM TAMPA.

Such delays and inconveniences were trifling matters to men who were not there for pleasure, and there was no faultfinding or grumbling. As might have been expected, the "Yucatan" was the first transport that pushed away from the pier. But the order to sail had not been received, and the departure was delayed for a whole week. The order came on the evening of June 13th, and with flags flying, men cheering, bands playing, the ships started for their destination. With all the discomforts occasioned by overcrowding on the "Yucatan," the men were more comfortable than they had been on the low plains and hot sands at Tampa.

The fleet presented a most picturesque spectacle. The transports were convoyed by all sorts of vessels—battleships, cruisers, torpedo boats and converted yachts. The mounts of the Rough Riders were left at Tampa, and they were assigned to infantry duty. The voyage was devoid of exciting incidents, and at noon, on June 20th, the transports arrived off Santiago de Cuba, and preparations were made at once for landing. This required two days. The troops were put ashore at Daiquiri, seventeen miles east of Santiago.

CHAPTER XI.

THE HERO OF THE BATTLEFIELD.

ROUGH RIDERS IN CUBA—BATTLE OF LA GUASIMAS—GALLANTRY OF REGULARS AND VOLUNTEERS—CAPTAIN CAPRON AND SERGEANT FISH—REPORT OF GENERAL WHEELER—PERSONAL BRAVERY OF COLONEL ROOSEVELT—PLUNGES INTO THE THICK OF THE FIGHT—INCIDENT SHOWING HIS DEVOTION TO HIS MEN—ROOSEVELT'S REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF SAN JUAN—CARE FOR THE WOUNDED—TRIBUTES IN VERSE TO THE ROUGH RIDERS.

THE Rough Riders, having landed in Cuba, were eager for battle. Tired, often hungry, oppressed by the extreme heat, they were displaying grand powers of endurance, and were almost impatient to prove their courage in the face of the foe.

They had unbounded confidence in their leaders. They knew they would not be expected to go into any danger without finding their commanders there before them. Entirely unacquainted with the ground they occupied, unused to the thickets, tall grass and dense undergrowths of the country, they did not shirk from any difficulties, or try to escape any obstacles or perils that beset their forward march. All they wanted was to find the Spaniards.

Colonel Roosevelt made a special request of General Shafter that his men should be allowed to join the advance column, and the request was granted. These brave fighters had no idea of crawling along in the rear; they would have regarded any other place except in the front ranks as a reflection upon their competency and courage. There was no delay in ordering an advance, and on Wednesday night, June 22d, the column had reached Demajayabo. The next day it arrived at Juragua, which was hastily evacuated by the Spaniards without risking an engagement. Pushing on, our troops gained a point within eight miles of Santiago, on Friday morning, June 24th.

Here it was ascertained that the enemy was in front and not far away. The sound of their axes, cutting down trees for defenses, could be plainly heard. A company of Cuban scouts, who had joined our forces, was sent ahead to find out the exact situation. They had not proceeded far before firing began, and bullets flew thick around them. They dropped on the ground and returned the fire, protecting themselves as well as they could in the bushes. This was the signal for an advance by the Rough Riders and regulars, led by Colonel Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt, and thus began the first fighting in the attack upon Santiago.

The raw troops were ready for the battle and behaved like veterans. They were the kind of men who could easily learn the art of war. They knew far less about retreating than about advancing. The Spaniards used smokeless powder, and could be located in the bushes only by the flashes of their guns. The exigencies of warfare were entirely new. There was no such thing as an open fight on well chosen ground with one army arranged in order against the other. The thickets were so dense and the Spaniards were so fully concealed that it was reported our troops were drawn into ambush.

RAW TROOPS ACTED LIKE VETERANS.

But this could not have been true, for the column knew well enough that the foe was in front although skilfully concealed.

Two of the bravest of our men were lost in this engagement. Sergeant Hamilton Fish, Jr., was the first to fall. He was firing over the Spanish defenses when a bullet struck him and he sank down at the foot of a tree, while a number of his comrades gathered around him. As he faced danger and fought with unflinching courage, so did all the volunteers who had left their palatial homes and offered their services in Cuba.

Another who fell mortally wounded was Captain Capron, who has already been mentioned. He was an officer of splendid ability, who could be trusted in every emergency, and his death was a loss that was keenly felt. When the fatal shot struck him he sank down upon the ground and soon asked "how the boys

were fighting." Being assured that they were doing bravely he raised himself and resting on his arm said, "I'm going to see this thing out." Sergeant Bell was standing by his side. "Give me your gun a minute," he said to the sergeant. Upon receiving it he kneeled down and fired twice. At each shot a Spaniard was seen to fall. He was courageous to the last. After sending tender messages to his wife and father he breathed his last and was borne from the field. All the Rough Riders who fell in battle were buried on Cuban soil.

Full details of our military operations may be gathered from official reports. General Wheeler, who was commander-in-chief of the cavalry, reported as follows :

"IN CAMP, JARAGUA, June 29th.

"TO THE ADJUTANT GENERAL OF THE FIFTH ARMY CORPS :

"SIR—I have the honor to report that, in obedience to the instructions of the major general commanding, given me in person on June 23d, I proceeded to Siboney. The enemy had evacuated the place at daylight that morning, taking a course toward Sevilla. A body of about one hundred Cubans had followed and engaged the enemy's rear guard. About nine of them were wounded.

DETERMINED TO MAKE AN ATTACK.

"I rode out to the front and found the enemy had halted and established themselves at a point about three miles from Siboney. At night the Cubans returned to the vicinity of the town. At eight o'clock that evening, the 23d, General Young reached Siboney with eight troops of Colonel Wood's regiment, A, B, D, E, F, G, K and L, five hundred strong ; troops A, B, C and K, of the First regular cavalry, in all 244 men ; and troops A, B, E and I, of the Tenth cavalry, in all 220 men, making the total force, 964 men, which included nearly all of my command which had marched from Baiquiri, eleven miles.

"With the assistance of General Castillo a rough map of the country was prepared and the position of the enemy was fully

explained, and I determined to make an attack at daylight on the 24th. Colonel Wood's regiment was sent by General Young, accompanied by two of his staff officers, Lieutenants Tyrree R. Rivers and W. R. Smedburg, Jr., to approach the enemy on the left hand, or more westerly road, while General Young, myself and about fifty troops of the First and Tenth cavalry, with three Hotchkiss mountain guns, approached the enemy on the regular Sevilla road.

OPENING OF THE FIGHT WITH ARTILLERY.

"General Young and myself examined the position of the enemy, the lines were deployed and I directed him to open fire with the Hotchkiss guns. The enemy replied and the firing immediately became general. Colonel Wood had deployed his right, nearly reaching to the left of the regulars. For an hour the fight was very warm, the enemy being very lavish in expenditure of ammunition, most of their firing being by volleys. Finally the enemy gave way and retreated rapidly, our side keeping well closed up on them; but our men being physically exhausted by both their exertions and the great heat, were incapable of maintaining the pursuit.

"I cannot speak too highly of the gallant and excellent conduct of the officers and men throughout my command. General Young deserves special commendation for his cool, deliberate and skilful management. I also specially noticed his acting adjutant general, Lieutenant A. L. Mills, who, under General Young's direction, was at various parts of the line, acting with energy and cool courage.

"The imperative necessity of disembarking with promptitude had impelled me to leave most of my staff to hasten this important matter, and unfortunately I only had with me Major W. D. Beach and Mr. Mestro, an acting volunteer aid, both of whom during the engagement creditably and bravely performed their duties. I am especially indebted to Major Beach for his cool and good judgment.

Colonel Wood's regiment was on the extreme left of the line

and too far distant for me to be a personal witness of the individual conduct of the officers and men; but the magnificent bravery shown by the regiment under the lead of Colonel Wood testifies to his courage and skill and the energy and determination of his officers, which have been marked from the moment he reported to me at Tampa, Fla., and I have abundant evidence of his brave and good conduct on the field, and I recommend him for the consideration of the government. I must rely upon his report to do justice to his officers and men, but I desire personally to add that all I have said regarding Colonel Wood applies equally to Colonel Roosevelt."

"There must have been nearly fifteen hundred Spaniards in front and to the side of us," said Colonel Roosevelt just after the fight. "They held the ridges with rifle pits and machine guns, and hid a body of men in ambush in the thick jungle at the sides of the road over which we were advancing. Our advance guard struck the men in ambush and drove them out. But they lost Captain Capron, Lieutenant Thomas and about fifteen men killed or wounded.

ACCURATE AND HEAVY FIRING BY THE SPANIARDS.

"The Spanish firing was accurate, so accurate indeed that it surprised me, and their firing was fearfully heavy. I want to say a word for our own men," continued Colonel Roosevelt. "Every officer and man did his duty up to the hilt. Not a man flinched."

From another officer who took a prominent part in the fighting, more details were obtained. "When the firing began," said he, "Colonel Roosevelt took the right wing with Troops G and K, under Captains Llewelyn and Jenkins, and moved to the support of Captain Capron, who was getting it hard. At the same time Colonel Wood and Major Brodie took the left wing and advanced in open order on the Spanish right wing. Major Brodie was wounded before the troops had advanced one hundred yards. Colonel Wood then took the right wing and shifted Colonel Roosevelt to the left.

"In the meantime the fire of the Spaniards had increased in volume, but, notwithstanding this, an order for a general charge was given, and with a yell the men sprang forward. Colonel Roosevelt, in front of his men, snatched a rifle and ammunition belt from a wounded soldier, and, cheering and yelling with his men, led the advance. In a moment the bullets were singing like a swarm of bees all around them, and every instant some poor fellow went down. On the right wing Captain McClintock had his leg broken by a bullet from a machine gun, while four of his men went down. At the same time Captain Luna lost nine of his men. Then the reserves were ordered up.

FURIOUS CHARGE BY BOTH WINGS.

"There was no more hesitation. Colonel Wood, with the right wing, charged straight at a blockhouse eight hundred yards away, and Colonel Roosevelt, on the left, charged at the same time. Up the men went, yelling like fiends and never stopping to return the fire of the Spaniards, but keeping on with a grim determination to capture the blockhouse.

"That charge was the end. When within five hundred yards of the coveted post the Spaniards broke and ran, and for the first time we had the pleasure, which the Spaniards had been experiencing all through the engagement, of shooting with the enemy in sight."

All the Rough Riders spoke in the highest terms of the gallant conduct of Colonel Roosevelt during the engagement. He was always at the front and cheered his men to deserved victory. He did not take account of danger, but set a bold example of unflinching courage to all his men. He made it plain that in his view of the case the Rough Riders were at the seat of war to fight; they were not out to have a dress parade and show their uniforms. Colonel Roosevelt's conviction that war meant business, and not play, was infused into every man in his command.

An incident illustrating Colonel Roosevelt's devotion to the men of his regiment was told by Trooper Burkholder, of the Rough Riders, who joined the regiment from Phoenix, Arizona.

Burkholder was all through the active campaign with the Rough Riders, and returned with them to Camp Wikoff. He was away on furlough on account of a slight attack of swamp fever when the Rough Riders were mustered out, and thus missed, as he puts it, "an opportunity to say good-bye to the most gallant commander and the truest man that a soldier was ever privileged to fight under."

"Only us few men who were with him," said Burkholder, "know how considerate he was of us at all times. There was one case in particular that illustrates this better than I can recall. It happened after the fight at La Quasina. The men were tired with the hard march and the fighting, and hunger was gnawing at every stomach. Besides, we had our first men killed there, and, taking it all in all, we were in an ugly humor. The usual shouting, cracking of jokes, and snatches of song were missing, and everybody appeared to be in the dumps.

SOLDIERS ENCOURAGED BY BEEF STEW.

"Well, things hadn't improved a bit—in fact, were getting worse along toward meal time—when the colonel began to move about among the men, speaking encouragingly to each group. I guess he saw something was up, and no doubt he made up his mind then and there to improve at least the humor of the men. There's an old saying that a man can best be reached through his stomach, and I guess he believes in that maxim. Shortly afterward we saw the colonel, his cook, and two of the troopers of Company I strike out along the narrow road toward the town, and we wondered what was up.

"It was probably an hour or so after this, and during a little resting spell in our work of clearing and making things a little camp-like, that the savory and almost forgotten odor of beef stew began to sweep through the clearing. Men who were working stopped short and began to sniff, and those who had stopped work for a breathing spell forgot to breath for a second. Soon they joined in the sniffing, and I'll wager every one of us was sniffing as hard as he knew how. Oh, but didn't that smell fine! We

weren't sure that it was for us, but we had a smell of it anyway. Quickly drooping spirits revived, and as the fumes of the boiling stew became stronger the humor of the men improved. We all jumped to our work with a will, and picks, shovels and axes were plied in race-horse fashion, while the men would stop now and then to raise their heads and draw a long breath and exclaim: 'Wow! but that smells good.'

"We were finally summoned to feed, and then you can imagine our surprise. There was a big boiler, and beside it a crowd of messtent men dishing out real beef stew! We could hardly believe our eyes, and I had to taste mine first to make sure it wasn't a dream. You should have seen the expressions on the faces of the men as they gulped down that stew, and we all laughed when one New York man yelled out: 'And it's got real onions in it, too!'

THE COST OF THAT DINNER TO ROOSEVELT.

"After we had loaded up we began to wonder where it all came from, and then the two Troop I men told how the colonel had purchased the potatoes and onions while his own cook secured the meat from Siboney.

"You probably won't believe it, but the bushel of potatoes cost Colonel Roosevelt almost \$60, and he had to pay thirty odd good American dollars to get the onions; but then he knew what his men wanted, and it was always his men first with him. There was a rush to his tent when we learned this, and if you ever heard the cheering I'm sure you wouldn't wonder why the Rough Riders all love their colonel.

"I see," said Burkholder, "that in his address to the men at Camp Wikoff the colonel told how he had to hurry at the San Juan Hill fight to save himself from being run over by the men. That's just like him to say that; but he probably forgets that more than half of the men never ran so fast before and never will again, as they had to run to keep up with him. If Colonel Roosevelt lived in Arizona we would give him any office he wanted without any election nonsense."

Writing of this battle, a newspaper correspondent said :

“Everybody has perfect faith in the American regular, and knows what he can and what he will ever do. General Young did, then, what the nation knew he would do, and his colored troopers fought bravely and well. But the interest of the fight would centre in the gallant conduct of Roosevelt’s Rough Riders—or Wood’s Weary Walkers, as they were dubbed at Tampa after their horses were taken from under them. Never was there a more representative body of men on American soil ; never was there a body of such varied elements ; and yet it was so easily welded into an effective fighting machine that a foreigner would not know that they were not as near brothers in blood, character, occupation, mutual faith and long companionship as any volunteer regiment that ever took the field.

BIG GAME HUNTER AND COWBOY.

“The dominant element was the big game hunter and cowboy, Colonel Roosevelt, and every field officer and captain had at one time or another owned a ranch. The majority came from Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Indian Territory, though every State in the Union was represented. There were graduates of Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Cornell, University of Virginia, of Pennsylvania, of Colorado, of Iowa and other Western and Southern colleges. There were members of the Knickerbocker Club of New York, and the Somerset of Boston, and of crack horse organizations of Philadelphia, New York and New Jersey. There were revenue officers from Georgia and Tennessee, police from New York city, six or eight deputy marshals from Colorado, half a dozen Texan Rangers, and one Pawnee, several Cherokees and Chickasaws, Choctaws and Creeks.

“There were men of all political faiths, all creeds—Catholics, Protestants and Jews. There was one strapping Australian and one of the Queen’s mounted police, though ninety per cent. of all were native born Americans. Roosevelt’s Rough Riders go as Roosevelt’s in fact as well as in name. Colonel Roosevelt has made his word of peace good in war.”

The report of the engagement was addressed by Colonel Roosevelt to Brigadier General Wood, and dated Camp Hamilton, near Santiago, July 20th. It was as follows :

"SIR—In obedience to your directions I herewith report on the operations of my regiment from the 1st to the 17th inst., inclusive.

"As I have already made you two reports about the first day's operations, I shall pass over them rather briefly.

STRATEGY IN THE ENGAGEMENT.

"On the morning of the first day my regiment was formed at the head of the Second Brigade, by the El Paso sugar mill. When the batteries opened, the Spaniards replied to us with shrapnel, which killed and wounded several of the men of my regiment. We then marched towards the right, and my regiment crossed the ford before the balloon came down there and attracted the fire of the enemy, so at that point we lost no one. My orders had been to march forward until I joined General Lawton's right wing, but after going about three-quarters of a mile I was halted and told to remain in reserve near the creek by a deep lane.

"The bullets dropped thick among us for the next hour while we lay there, and many of my men were killed or wounded. Among the former was Captain O'Neill, whose loss was a heavy blow to the regiment, for he was a singularly gallant and efficient officer. Acting Lieutenant Haskell was also shot at this time. He showed the utmost courage and had been of great use during the fighting and marching. It seems to me some action should be taken about him.

"You then sent me word to move forward in support of the regular cavalry, and I advanced the regiment in column of companies, each company deployed as skirmishers. We moved through several skirmish lines of the regiment ahead of us, as it seemed to me our only chance was in rushing the entrenchments in front instead of firing at them from a distance.

"Accordingly we charged the blockhouse and entrench-

ments on the hill to our right against a heavy fire. It was taken in good style, the men of my regiment thus being the first to capture any fortified position and to break through the Spanish lines. The guidons of G and E troop were first at this point, but some of the men of A and B troop, who were with me personally, got in ahead of them. At the last wire fence up this hill I was obliged to abandon my horse, and after that we went on foot.

"After capturing this hill we first of all directed a heavy fire upon the San Juan hill to our left, which was at the time being assailed by the regular infantry and cavalry, supported by Captain Parker's Gatling guns. By the time San Juan was taken a large force had assembled on the hill we had previously captured, consisting not only of my own regiment, but of the Ninth and portions of other cavalry regiments.

CHARGE UNDER A HEAVY FIRE.

"We then charged forward under a very heavy fire across the valley against the Spanish entrenchments on the hill in the rear of San Juan hill. This we also took, capturing several prisoners.

"We then formed in whatever order we could and moved forward, driving the Spanish before us to the crest of the hills in front, which were immediately opposite the city of Santiago itself. Here I received orders to halt and hold the line on the hill's crest. I had at the time fragments of the Sixth Cavalry Regiment and an occasional infantryman under me—three or four hundred men all told. As I was the highest there I took command of all them, and so continued till next morning.

"The Spaniards attempted a counter attack that afternoon, but were easily driven back, and then until after dark we remained under a heavy fire from their rifles and great guns, lying flat on our faces on a gentle slope just behind the crest.

"Captain Parker's Gatling battery was run up to the right of my regiment and did excellent and gallant service. In order to charge the men had, of course, been obliged to throw away their packs, and we had nothing to sleep in and nothing to eat.

We were lucky enough, however, to find in the last block house captured the Spanish dinners, still cooking, which we ate with relish. They consisted chiefly of rice and peas, with a big pot containing a stew of fresh meat, probably for the officers.

"We also distributed the captured Spanish blankets as far as they would go among our men, and gathered a good deal of Mauser ammunition for use in the Colt rapid-fire guns, which were being brought up. That night we dug entrenchments across the front.

"At three o'clock in the morning the Spaniards made another attack upon us, which was easily repelled, and at four they opened the day with a heavy rifle and shrapnel fire. All day long we remained under this, replying whenever we got the chance. In the evening, at about eight o'clock, the Spaniards fired three guns and then opened a very heavy rifle fire, their skirmishers coming well forward.

SPANISH FIRE PROMPTLY SILENCED.

"I got all my men down into the trenches, as did the other command near me, and we opened a heavy return fire. The Spanish advance was at once stopped, and after an hour their fire died away. This night we completed most of our trenches and began to build bomb proofs. The protection afforded our men was good, and the next morning I had but one man wounded from the rifle and shell fire until twelve o'clock, when the truce came.

"I do not mention the officers and men who particularly distinguished themselves, as I have nothing to add in this respect to what was contained in my former letter.

"There were numerous Red Cross flags flying in the various parts of the city, two of them so arranged that they directly covered batteries in our front, and for some time were the cause of our not firing at them.

"The Spanish guerrillas were very active, especially in our rear, where they seemed by preference to attack the wounded men who were being carried on litters, the doctors and medical attendants with Red Cross flags on their arms, and the burial parties.

"I organized a detail of sharpshooters and sent them out after the guerrillas, of whom they killed thirteen. Two of the men thus killed were shot several hours after the truce had been in operation, because, in spite of this fact, they kept firing upon our men as they went to draw water. They were stationed in the trees, as the guerrillas were generally, and, owing to the density of the foliage, and to the use of smokeless powder rifles, it was an exceedingly difficult matter to locate them.

"For the next seven days, until the 10th, we lay in our line while the truce continued.

"We had continually to work at additional bomb proofs and at the trenches, and as we had no proper supply of food and utterly inadequate medical facilities, the men suffered a good deal. The officers chipped together, purchased beans, tomatoes and sugar for the men, so that they might have some relief from the bacon and hardtack. With a great deal of difficulty we got them coffee.

TENDER CARE OF THE SICK AND WOUNDED.

"As for the sick and wounded, they suffered so in the hospitals, when sent to the rear, for lack of food and attention, that we found it best to keep them at the front and give them such care as our own doctors could.

"As I mentioned in my previous letter, thirteen of our wounded men continued to fight through the battle in spite of their injuries. In spite of their wounds those sent to the rear, many both sick and wounded, came up to rejoin us as soon as their condition allowed them to walk.

"On the 10th the truce was at an end and the bombardment reopened, as far as our lines were concerned; it was, on the Spanish part, very feeble. We suffered no losses, and speedily got the fire from their trenches in our front completely under control.

"On the 11th we moved three-quarters of a mile to the right, the truce again being on.

"Nothing happened there, except we continued to watch and do our best to get the men, especially the sick, properly fed. Having no transportation, and being able to get hardly any through

the regular channels, we used anything we could find—captured Spanish cavalry horses, abandoned mules, some of which had been injured, but which our men took and cured; diminutive, skinny ponies purchased from the Cubans, etc.

“By these means and by the exertions of the officers, we were able from time to time to get supplies of beans, sugar, tomatoes and even oatmeal, while from the Red Cross people we got our invaluable load of rice, cornmeal, etc.

REDUCED TO GREAT STRAITS.

“All of this was of the utmost consequence, not only for the sick, but for those nominally well, as the lack of proper food was telling terribly on the men. It was utterly impossible to get them clothes and shoes. Those they had were, in many cases, literally dropping to pieces.

“On the 17th the city surrendered. On the 18th we shifted camp to here, the best camp we have had; but the march hither under the noonday sun told very heavily on our men, weakened by underfeeding and overwork, and the next morning 123 cases were reported to the doctor, and I now have but half of the 600 men, with which I landed four weeks ago, fit for duty, and these are not fit to do anything like the work they could do then.

“As we had but one wagon, the change necessitated leaving much of my stuff behind, with a night of discomfort, with scanty shelter and scanty food for the most of the officers and many of the men. Only the possession of the improvised pack train alluded to above saved us from being worse.

“Yesterday I sent in a detail of six officers and men to see if they could not purchase or make arrangements for a supply of proper food and proper clothing for the men, even if we had to pay it out of our own pockets. Our suffering has been due primarily to lack of transportation and of proper food or sufficient clothing and of medical supplies.

“We should now have wagon sheets for tentage.

“Very respectfully,

“THEODORE ROOSEVELT.”

An officer's report is always intended to be a statement of facts. It, therefore, lacks the glow and picturesque features that the correspondent or the historian would give to his description of a hard-fought battle. The foregoing report tells, in plain language, the heroic exploits of the Rough Riders, and is an unvarnished testimony to their valor. The simple narration of facts is sufficient evidence of the valor displayed by the brave cavalymen whom Colonel Roosevelt commanded. He makes no claim to superior courage and fighting qualities, but it is only just to say he was the central figure, the grand leader who inspired his men to noble deeds and assured their victory.

Many were the tributes in verse paid to the Rough Riders and their commander, some of which lacked literary merit, but were forcible. We take the liberty of appending a couple in this connection :

THE BALLAD OF "TEDDY'S TERRORS."

AS RELATED BY ROUND-UP RUBE OF RATTLESNAKE GULCH.

There wus a lovely regiment whose
men wus strong and stout,
Fer some, they had diplomas, and fer
some wus warrants out,
And Wood, he wus their colonel bold,
an' Teddy wus his mate,
And they called 'em "Teddy's Lamb-
kins," fer their gentleness wus great.

Now a good ole man named Shafter
says to Teddy and to Wood :—
"There's a joint called Santiago where
we ain't well understood,—
So, take yer lamb-like regiment, and
if you are polite,
I think yer gentle little ways'll set the
matter right. "

So when Teddy's boys got movin' and
the sun wus on the fry,

And the atmosphere wus coixin' them
to lay right down and die,
Some gents from Santiago who wus
mad 'cause they wus there,
Lay down behind some bushes to put
bullets through their hair.

Now, Teddy's happy Sunday School
wus movin' on its way
A-seekin' in its peaceful style some
Dagos fer to slay ;
And the gents from Santiago, with
aversion in their heart,
Wus hidin' at the cross-roads fer to
blow 'em all apart.

There's a Spanish comic paper that has
give us sundry digs—
A-callin' of us cowards an' dishonest
Yankee pigs ;

And I guess these folks had read it, and
 had thought 'twould be immense
 Jest to paralyze them lambkins they
 wus runnin' up agains'.

So when our boys had pretty near
 arrived where they wus at,
 And the time it was propitious fer to
 start that there combat,
 They let 'er fly a-thinkin' they would
 make a dreadful tear,
 An' then rubber-necked to see if any
 Yankees wus still there.

Now you can well imagine wot a dread-
 ful start they had
 To see 'em still a' standin' there and
 lookin' bold and bad,
 Fer when this gentle regiment had
 heard the bullets fly,
 They had a vi-lent hankerin' to make
 them Spaniards die.

So Teddy, he came runnin' with his
 glasses on his nose,
 And when the Spanish saw his teeth
 you may believe they froze ;
 And Wood was there 'long with 'im,
 with his cheese-knife in his hand,
 While at their heels came yellin' all
 that peaceful, gentle band.

They fought them bloody Spaniards at
 their own familiar game,
 And the gents from Santiago didn't
 like it quite the same—
 Fer you plug yer next door neighbor
 with a rifle ball or two
 An' he don't feel so robustous as when
 he's a-pluggin' you.

So when the shells wus hoppin', while
 the breech-blocks clicked and
 smoked,

An' the powder wouldn't blow away
 until a feller choked,
 That regiment of Yankee pigs wus
 gunnin' through the bush,
 An' raisin' merry hell with that there
 Santiago push.

Then Teddy seen 'em runnin', and he
 gives a monstrous bawl,
 And grabbed a red-hot rifle where a
 guy had let it fall,
 And fixin' of his spectacles more firmly
 on his face,
 He started to assassinate them all
 around the place.

So through the scrubby underbrush
 from bay'n't plant to tree,
 Where the thorns would rip a feller's
 pants, a shockin' sight to see,
 He led his boys a-dancin' on, a-shoutin'
 left and right,
 And not missin' many Spanish knobs
 that shoved 'emselves in sight.

And when them Santiago gents wus
 finished to their cost,
 Then Teddy's boys, they took a look
 and found that they wus lost,
 And as their crewel enemies wus freed
 from earthly pain,
 They all sat down to wait fer friends
 to lead 'em back again.

That's the tale of Teddy's terrors, and
 the valiant deed they done,
 But all tales, they should have morals,
 so o' course this tale has one.

CHAPTER XII.

ROOSEVELT'S BRILLIANT RECORD IN THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

IN THE FIGHT AT SAN JUAN—COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S WONDERFUL CHARGE—PRAISES THE GALLANTRY OF HIS TROOPERS—STORY OF TROOPER ROWLAND—CREDIT DUE THE REGULARS—ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLES BEFORE THE COMMITTEE OF INVESTIGATION—PRIVATIONS OF THE SOLDIERS—A BORN FIGHTER—STORY OF TROOPER JOHNSON—MORE CASUALTIES AMONG ROUGH RIDERS THAN REGULARS—GENERAL WHEELER ON SPANISH DEFENSES.

ALL accounts of the battle of La Guasimas (so called from a nut-bearing tree of this name), and the subsequent fight of San Juan, contain abundant evidence that the leader of the Rough Riders was a host in himself and did more than any other commander to win the victory, as may be seen from the incidents attending the engagements, and from the testimony of the troopers who took an active part in the struggle.

Said an officer of high rank: "I cannot speak too highly of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. He is every inch a fighter, and led a charge of dismounted cavalry against men in pits at San Juan successfully. It was a wonderful charge, and showed Roosevelt's grit. I was not there, but I have been told of it repeatedly by those who saw the colonel on the Hill."

Two reports made by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt to his superior officer in front of Santiago in July were given out by the War Department in Washington, December 22, 1898. Both reports describe the operations of the Rough Riders in the battle of San Juan, the second telling a much fuller story.

In his first report, dated July 4th, he mentions by name many of the troopers who distinguished themselves by their bravery. This part of the report, which was made by Roosevelt, as lieutenant-

ant-colonel in charge of the regiment, to Colonel Wood, temporarily in charge of the brigade, was as follows :

"We went into the fight about four hundred and ninety strong. Eighty-six were killed or wounded and there are half a dozen missing. The great heat prostrated nearly forty men, some of them, among the best in the regiment. Besides Captain O'Neill and Lieutenant Haskell, who were killed, Lieutenants Leahy, Devereaux and Case were wounded. All behaved with great gallantry. As for Captain O'Neill, his loss is one of the severest that could have befallen the regiment. He was a man of cool head, great executive ability and literally dauntless courage.

"To attempt to give a list of the men who showed signal valor would necessitate sending in an almost complete roster of the regiment. Many of the cases which I mention stand merely as examples of the rest, not as exceptions.

CONDUCT OF GALLANT OFFICERS.

"Captain Jenkins acted as major and showed such conspicuous gallantry and efficiency that I earnestly hope he may be promoted to major as soon as a vacancy occurs. Captains Lewellen, Muller and Luna led their troops throughout the charges, handling them admirably. At the end of the battle Lieutenants Kane, Greenwood and Goodrich were in charge of their troops immediately under my eye, and I wish particularly to commend their conduct throughout.

"But the most conspicuous gallantry was shown by Trooper Rowland. He was wounded in the side in our first fight, but kept in the firing line. He was sent to the hospital the next day, but left it and marched out to us, overtaking us, and fought all through this battle with such indifference to danger that I was forced again and again to restrain and threaten him for running needless risks.

"Great gallantry was also shown by four troopers whom I cannot identify, and by Trooper Winslow Clark, of Troop G. It was after we had taken the first hill. I had called out to rush the

second, and having by that time lost my horse, climbed a wire fence and started toward it.

"After going a couple of hundred yards under a heavy fire, I found that no one else had come. As I discovered later, it was simply because in the confusion, with men shooting and being shot, they had not noticed me start. I told the five men to wait a moment, as it might be misunderstood if we all ran back, while I ran back and started the regiment, and as soon as I did so the regiment came with a rush.

"But meanwhile the five men coolly lay down in the open, returning the fire from the trenches. It is to be wondered at that only Clark was seriously wounded, and he called out, as we passed again, to lay his canteen where he could reach it, but to continue the charge and leave him where he was. All the wounded had to be left until after the fight, for we could spare no men from the firing line. Very respectfully,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

WOULD NOT HAVE KNOWN IT IF DEFEATED.

Trooper Rowland, who received honorable mention by Colonel Roosevelt for his gallantry, hailed from New Mexico. His frontier life had made him brave and fearless. It would seem that this fight with the Spaniards was to him little more than a pastime. Without much exaggeration it may be said that if he had been defeated he would not have known it. Such soldierly qualities were just the ones to be admired by his leader, and it is not strange that Roosevelt makes special mention of him, as he did of many others. If there was any post more dangerous than another, Rowland was the man who felt humiliated if it was not assigned to him.

He was sent by Colonel Roosevelt on a dangerous errand, and on his return the colonel noticed that he was wounded.

"Where are you hurt, Rowland?" he asked.

"Aw—they caved in a couple of ribs for me, I guess."

Colonel Roosevelt ordered him to go to the rear and make himself as comfortable as he could in the hospital. Rowland, for

the first time in his service, grumbled, and was inclined to argue the case. He did not want to leave. But when the order was repeated he disappeared, and was not seen for half an hour. But in the course of the advance Colonel Roosevelt saw him again, and exclaimed.

"I thought you were told to go to the hospital."

"Aw—I couldn't find the hospital," replied the man, a statement which his colonel doubted. And he remained on the firing-line to the end of the conflict. His conduct was typical of the heroism and fortitude of the whole American army."

The following lines, written by one of the troopers, express the feeling of the Rough Riders toward their leader :

SONG OF ROOSEVELT'S RIDERS.

WE thud—thud—thud down the dusky pike,

We jingle across the plain,

We cut and thrust, and we lunge and strike,

We throttle the sons of Spain !

Our chief has never a tremor shown,

He's grit cinched up in a belt,

Oh, they must be for their courage known

Who ride with Roosevelt.

We gallop along the gloomy vale,

We bustle a-down the lane,

We leap the stream and the toppling rail—

We burst on the men of Spain !

It's rattle and clash, the sabers flash,

The Spaniard host doth melt,

It's bluff and grit, and it's all things vast

To ride with Roosevelt !

Speaking of the battle, Colonel Roosevelt said : "The men were deployed on both sides of the road in such thick jungle that only here and there could they see ahead. Through the jungle ran wire fences, and when the troops got to the ridge they encountered precipitous bluffs. They were led most gallantly, as American regular officers always lead their men ; and the soldiers followed their leaders with the splendid courage always

shown by the American regular soldier. There was not a single straggler among them, and so cool were they and so perfect their fine discipline, that in the entire engagement the expenditure of ammunition was not over ten rounds per man.

"Major Bell, who commanded the squadron, had his leg broken by a shot as he was leading his men. Captain Wainwright succeeded to the command of the squadron. Captain Knox was shot in the abdomen. He continued for some time giving orders to his troops, and refused to allow a man from the firing-line to assist him to the rear. Lieutenant Byron was himself shot, but continued to lead his men until the wound and the heat overcame him, and he fell in a faint. The Spaniards kept up a very heavy firing, but as the regulars climbed the ridges the Spaniards broke and fled."

PRAISES FOR THE REGULARS.

The value of this statement consists in showing the estimate Colonel Roosevelt placed upon the regulars. He was connected with the volunteers, yet was ever ready to bestow just praise, anxious only that it should be conferred where it was due. He had no selfish desire to belittle the achievements of the regular United States troops. He knew these could be depended upon in every emergency. They were splendidly drilled; they were commanded by brave and competent officers. He had no desire to rob them of their glory.

To magnify the heroism of the volunteers and thus disparage the valor of the regulars would have shown a jealous, narrow, selfish spirit, of which he was quite incapable. His own troops acted gallantly, but they were not the only heroes. If he had led a regiment of the regular army he would have been willing to give the volunteers credit for every deed of bravery.

Equal and exact justice to all has been the aim of Roosevelt through all his public career. Herein lies one secret of his extraordinary hold upon the popular heart. He is not a self-seeker; he is not a trickster. He is a thoroughly honest, generous, just and frank man, and the people know it. And for the reason that

he is such a man, broad-minded and ready to give even an enemy his due, his place in popular esteem is assured. His fame and popularity can be accounted for as much from what he is as from what he has done.

Important details of Colonel Roosevelt's part in our war with Spain were presented by him before the committee of investigation appointed to take testimony concerning the manner in which the military and naval operations had been carried on. Colonel Roosevelt was examined November 22, 1898. His statements were frank, right to the point, free from all evasion, and given with evident endeavor to be just to all parties concerned. He was examined by General Wilson.

GO AHEAD TOWARD THE GUNS.

Speaking of La Guasimas, he said : " It was a brisk skirmish, and, it being my first experience, and with smokeless powder in use, it took me a little time to make out exactly what was up, and I couldn't see the Spaniards for a long time. They were using smokeless powder ; but, fortunately, I knew one rule, that ' if you are in doubt go ahead and be sure you go toward the guns ! ' We finally discovered the Spaniards through Mr. Richard Harding Davis, who was with me on the line. He pointed across the ravine to an elevation, where he thought were some Spaniards, as he could see their hats ; and I got my glasses on them and saw they were Spanish hats, and got my men volley firing on them and they were driven out and ran back where there were other Spaniards, and pretty soon we had them all going back."

Orders were received on the 30th of June for the brigade to move forward to Santiago. The next morning the battle was fought which had been impending for several days. When our artillery opened fire the Spaniards poured shrapnel into our ranks that killed or wounded a number of American troops and Cubans. Roosevelt was placed in command of the brigade with orders to lead it.

His official report says : " My regiment went first, the Second Brigade following the First Brigade along the road to join on Gen-

eral Lawton's left. That was the order we received. General Lawton was attacking El Caney. We marched out behind the First Brigade until we came to the San Juan River, which we forded, and then turned to the right. I got my regiment across just as the captive balloon was coming along down to the ford. There was a good deal of firing going on, and I knew when that balloon got down there would be hot work at the ford, so I hurried my men along as quickly as I could, and my regiment marched at the head of the Second Brigade to the right alongside San Juan River, with the First Cavalry Brigade to our left, between us and the block houses and intrenchments on the hills, and the firing got heavier and heavier, and we finally received word to halt and await orders.

WELCOME ORDER TO ADVANCE.

"There was a kind of sunken lane going up from the river where we halted, and I made the men all lie down and get under cover as much as they could, and we lay there for, I should judge, certainly an hour. Finally we got the welcome orders to advance. I received instructions to move forward and support the regular cavalry in the assault on the hills in front, and we moved forward, and we then took Kettle Hill, as we called it. I never heard the term San Juan Hill until two or three days later. After we went up Kettle Hill, Colonel Hamilton and Colonel Carroll were both shot, and that left me in command on the hill until General Sumner got there. I got my men together and got them volley firing across at the San Juan block house on the hill which the infantry of Kent and Hawkins were attacking.

"We kept up firing for some time, and I recollect we heard Parker's Gatlings begin shooting on the left and our men cheered them, and we kept up our fire until the infantry got so near the top of the hill that I was afraid of hitting them, and in another minute we saw the infantry swarm over the intrenchments and the Spaniards run out; and then we charged from Kettle Hill across at the next line of hills, which was in the rear, where there were Spanish trenches and another block house. General Sumner was

on Kettle Hill before this ; he had been riding along the lines of the cavalry seeing that they went forward. He had command of the cavalry division at that time.

"Then we took the next line of intrenchments. The Spaniards were still firing at us, and we formed and went to the left, and got on the crest of the chain of hills overlooking Santiago. By that time I was the highest officer in command on the extreme front, and I had six regiments under me. Major Wessels had been wounded, and Captains Morton and Boughton came up and reported to me, and Captains Stevens and McNamee of the Ninth reported to me. I received orders, then, from Captain Howze, of General Sumner's staff, not to advance but to hold that hill at all hazards. Captain Howze was always at the front when he could be. We held the hill until nightfall, when we received orders to intrench.

FED ON THE ENEMY'S FOOD.

"We had captured in the block house the Spanish officers' mess—and an extremely good officers' mess it was, better than anything we had had ; a big kettle of beef, a kettle of rice, and peas, and a big demijohn of rum, and a lot of rice flour loaves, so I fed those out to my men ; and we also got a lot of Spanish intrenching tools, and we threw up some very aboriginal intrenchments. So that night we had a mild feast on the Spaniards' food.

"That is the night of the 1st. We intrenched there. As I have seen talk about a retreat being considered from that hill, it is only justice to say that the officers on the extreme front of that line, at least in my part of the line, never dreamed of the Spaniards driving us ; they were all perfectly horrified at the idea of retreating. Captains Morton and Boughton came over to me in the afternoon to say that someone had spoken of retreating, and to beg of me to protest. I had not heard of it, and did not believe it was true. I knew that we could hold that line against anything that could come up in the front."

Colonel Roosevelt spoke of "the enormous superiority of the smokeless powder over the black powder," adding that it could

hardly be realized by those not on the ground. "I saw, for instance, the guns on our left open fire, and in a half-minute after the first shot there would be a thick black cloud hanging, and apparently every Spanish gun and every Spanish rifle within a radius of a mile of us would be turned on that point, and the gun would be driven out ; so that our men—I mean the dismounted cavalry—would say, 'there go the artillery ; they will be driven out.' And they were. They were placed back in the rear on the following day, but they were driven off the firing line where the infantry were.

GETTING GUNS IN POSITION.

"On the other hand, the Gatlings, which were managed by Captain Parker, were fought on the extreme front of the skirmish line ; he fought his Gatlings right up on the extreme front, just as far as anybody could go. He did magnificently. He was on the right of our regiment. We had our two Colts, and he came and helped us put our two Colts in position. We didn't think we had put our works out quite far enough, and we zigzagged an approach and made a kind of bastion some 200 yards out on the hill, so that we could fire right into the Spanish works. He helped us dig the approach and helped us get our Colt automatic guns fixed just right. He not only fought his own guns, but he rendered us every assistance.

"If he had not had smokeless powder we would not have allowed him in the trenches unless he could have stayed there in spite of us. I would say that some of the Seventy-First New York came up in the trenches right by some of the cavalry of the First Brigade, and the cavalymen ordered them out, saying that they would not have them in their trenches ; they would rather fight without support than with the black powder, insuring their being the one point at which the enemy were firing."

Notwithstanding all the privations to which the troopers were subjected they made no complaint ; all hardships were accepted as belonging to the fortunes of war. In one of his first speeches to his men Colonel Roosevelt said :

"You've got to perform without flinching whatever duty is assigned you, regardless of the difficulty or danger attending it. No matter what comes, you must not squeal." These words of Roosevelt became almost a creed with his men. To do anything without flinching or squealing was their aim, and to hear the colonel say "Good!" was reward enough. One of his troopers who was disabled and brought home answered a reporter who asked if the colonel was a good fighter: "A fighter? You'd give a lifetime to see that man leading a charge or to hear him yell. Talk about courage and grit, and all that—he's got it. Why I used to keep my eye on him whenever I could, and I've seen him dash into a hail of bullets, cheering and yelling all the time, as if possessed. He doesn't know what fear is, and seems to bear a charmed life. All the Rough Riders adore him."

WOULD FOLLOW HIM TO HADES.

Colonel Roosevelt was hit by a fragment of shell on San Juan Hill. A trooper, who was on the ground, said: "Teddy was with four or five other officers just below the brow of a hill upon which one of our batteries was placed, when a Spanish shell, well aimed, flew over the crest and exploded just above the heads of the group. Two of the officers were painfully wounded, but Teddy, with his usual good luck, escaped with a cut on the back of his right hand. It was trivial, but it bled. I shall never forget the delight on Teddy's face when he saw his own blood leak out. Whipping out his handkerchief after a moment he bound it around his hand. A little later when he was near our line he held up his bandaged hand and said gaily, 'See here, boys; I've got it, too.'

"I never saw anybody so anxious to be in the thick of the trouble as Teddy. The first day the Rough Riders were held in reserve he chafed terribly. He kept saying, 'I wish they'd let us start.' We all idolized Teddy. He wears a flannel shirt most of the time, and refuses to fare any better than his men. Why, he wouldn't have a shelter-tent when they were distributed. There isn't one of our fellows who wouldn't follow Teddy to Hades if he ordered us to."

General Wheeler said of the colonel on his return from Cuba: "Roosevelt is a born fighter, and his men were absolutely devoted to him. While we were together on board the transport I had an opportunity of observing Roosevelt more closely than was possible in the hustle and excitement of the camp. What impressed me most about him was his absolute integrity."

Here is what Sergeant Judson, Co. E, First Illinois Volunteers, wrote under date of Santiago, July 30th: "The Rough Riders and our regiment have for a week camped together. They are a fine body of men, and Colonel Roosevelt is a fine fellow. I have talked to him personally three times. He is one of the boys. In the campaign against Santiago he was digging trenches with a pick, like his men. He sleeps in a miserable tent and chews hardtack like the rest. When we first came our food consisted of one piece of hardtack for each meal, and some water.

"This lasted two days, and along came Roosevelt on his horse. I was on my way to cut some grass to sleep on. He stopped me and said, 'I know you boys are starved for food, but I am going to do what I can for you. So far I have managed to get some coffee and a number of cases of hardtack, which will start you. We are going to fight together, and I want to see you all in good trim.' If it wasn't for him I am sure we would have been without supplies much longer."

Thus it will be seen that hunger was often added to the hardships experienced by our brave troops before Santiago. It would occasionally happen that, owing to the difficulty of transporting supplies, the men could obtain only scanty rations. A humorous allusion to this, and to the ravenous appetite caused thereby, is found in the following doggerel, entitled

A ROUGH RIDER AT HOME.

My pa's a great Rough Rider,
He was one of Teddy's men,
And he fought before El Caney
In the trenches and the fen.
He came home sore and wounded,

And I wish you'd see him eat;
 He's got an appetite, I guess,
 Is pretty hard to beat.
 It's eat and eat and eat
 And it's sleep and sleep and sleep,
 For ma won't let us make no noise,
 And so we creep and creep.
 O, we bade him welcome home,
 And we're glad he wasn't killed—
 But, gee! he's got an appetite
 That never will be filled.
 He says he caught the fever,
 And he had the ague, too;
 And he kind o' got the homesicks
 And the waitin' made him blue.
 But when he reached the station
 And we saw him from the gate
 We were the happiest family
 You could find in all the State.

A great deal of interest attaches to Roosevelt's famous charge up San Juan hill, when his brigade performed deeds of valor that would have done credit to Napoleon's Old Guard. Here is the account of it given in the press despatches :

LEADING HIS GALLANT SOLDIERS.

"Roosevelt was in the lead, waving his sword. Out into the open and up the hill, where death seemed certain, in the face of the continuous crackle of the Mausers, came the Rough Riders with the Tenth Cavalry alongside. Not a man flinched, all continuing to fire as they ran. Roosevelt was a hundred feet ahead of his troops, yelling like a Sioux, while his own men and the colored cavalry cheered him as they charged up the hill. There was no stopping as men's neighbors fell, but on they went, faster and faster. Suddenly Roosevelt's horse stopped, pawed the air for a moment, and fell in a heap. Before the horse was down Roosevelt disengaged himself from the saddle and landing on his feet, again yelled to his men, and, sword in hand, charged on foot."

The valor of that day has been commemorated in the following spirited lines:

BEFORE SANTIAGO.

Who cries that the days of daring are those that are faded far,
That never a light burns planet-bright to be hailed as the hero's star?
Let the deeds of the dead be laureled, the brave of the elder years,
But a song, we say, for the men of to-day who have proved themselves their
peers !

High in the vault of the tropic sky is the garish eye of the sun,
And down with its crown of guns a-frown looks the hill-top to be won ;
There is the trench where the Spaniard lurks, his hold and his hiding place,
And he who would cross the space between must meet death face to face.

The black mouths belch and thunder, and the shrapnel shrills and flies ;
Where are the fain and the fearless, the lads with the dauntless eyes ?
Will the moment find them wanting ! Nay, but with valor stirred !
Like the leashed hound on the coursing-ground they wait but the warning word.

"Charge !" and the line moves forward, moves with a shout and a swing,
While sharper far than the cactus-thorn is the spiteful bullet's sting.
Now they are out in the open, and now they are breasting the slope,
While into the eyes of death they gaze as into the eyes of hope.

Never they wait nor waver, but on they climb and on,
With "Up with the flag of the stripes and stars, and down with the flag of the
Don !"

What should they bear through the shot-rent air but rout to the ranks of
Spain,
For the blood that throbs in their hearts is the blood of the boys of Anthony
Wayne !

See, they have taken the trenches ! Where are the foemen ? Gone !
And now "Old Glory" waves in the breeze from the heights of San Juan !
And so, while the dead are laureled, the brave of the elder years,
A song, we say, for the men of to-day who have proved themselves their
peers !

CLINTON SCOLLARD.

An incident may be here related which vividly shows the esteem, amounting almost to adoration, in which Colonel Roosevelt was held by regulars as well as volunteers. He received the admiration always accorded a man who is every inch a soldier.

Among the United States regulars whose term of enlistment expired during the Santiago campaign, and who quit the service upon returning to this country, was a man of the Ninth Infantry, known to the members of the regiment as Johnson of Maryland. He was a tall, lanky Southerner, and the pride of the Ninth because of his marksmanship, which was so true that Johnson was head and shoulders over all the others in handling a Krag-Jorgensen.

STORY OF PRIVATE JOHNSON.

He appeared to be the most contented man in Uncle Sam's service, and often spoke of re-enlisting until an event occurred just after the first day's fighting at San Juan which caused him to change his mind, and he vowed never to handle a gun again. He would never speak of it to his comrades, but they all knew why he quit; and although they argued and tried to persuade him to remain, Johnson only shook his head and said, "No, boys, I can't stay with you any longer. I'd like to, but don't ask me again. I can't do it. I must get out."

One of the members of Johnson's company tells the story of what caused the Ninth to lose its crack shot.

"We had been engaged in the hottest kind of work for some hours, and after taking the first line of Spanish trenches we were fixing them up for our own use. The Spaniards had been driven back, but their sharpshooters were still at it, picking off our men here and there. The Mauser bullets were whizzing around us pretty lively, and I noticed that Johnson was getting more and more impatient every minute, and acting as if he was just aching to get at those Spanish sharpshooters, and finally he turned to me, and, in his drawling tone, said: 'Say, it's tough we can't get a chance at them.'

"He soon got his chance, however, for just as dusk began

our captain ordered a dozen of us to advance a short distance ahead and well beyond the trenches our forces had captured. When we arrived on the spot we were halted on the edge of a dense wood. Just ahead of us was an open space of clear ground, and on the other side of that a low, thick brush which extended as far as I could see.

"Just before night came on we received our final orders, which were to pay particular attention to the brush just ahead of us on the other side of the clearing, and to shoot at the first head we saw. We had settled down to our tiresome occupation of watching and waiting, but always prepared for anything, and Johnson and I were talking in low tones of the day's fighting we had just passed through when we heard the sound of a dry twig breaking. We were alert in an instant, and all the men in our line were looking straight ahead with pieces half raised, ready for use. As I looked at Johnson I could see him smile, apparently with the hope of a chance to shoot. The sound repeated itself, this time a little nearer, but still quite indistinct.

MIGHT HAVE BEEN A FATAL MISTAKE.

"An instant later we again heard it, and it sounded directly ahead of Johnson and me, and was, beyond a doubt, a cautious tread, but too heavy for a man. While we waited in almost breathless silence for something to happen we again heard the cautious tread, now quite plain. It was the tread of a horse and was just ahead of us. Suddenly, as the head became plainer, a dark object appeared just above the top of the brush. Dozens of guns were raised, but Johnson whispered: 'I've got him.'

"He crawled a few paces forward and we saw him raise his gun, his fingers nervously working on the trigger. At that instant the brush parted and a horse and rider stepped out. We saw Johnson stretch out his piece and we expected to see a flash, but just then the rider turned in his saddle, and by the dim light from the dull red glow that still tinged the sky we saw a pair of eyeglasses flash. We all knew at once who it was, but not one of us spoke. We were probably too horrified, and before I could say

a word Johnson turned to me, and with a look on his face I shall never forget, exclaimed, in a hoarse voice :

“ ‘My God, Ben; it’s Roosevelt! And I nearly plucked him!’

“With this he threw his gun from him and just sat there and stared at the place in the brush where Colonel Roosevelt and his horse had entered. The latter, when he heard the voices of our men, came straight up to us, and appeared surprised to find us so far beyond the trench. When he heard of the orders about shooting at the first head we saw, he smiled and said :

“ ‘That is the first I’ve heard of the orders. They were probably issued while I was away doing a little reconnoitering on my own hook.’ ”

HEAVY LOSSES OF THE ROUGH RIDERS.

Mention has already been made of the gallant conduct of the regulars in the engagements before Santiago, yet it is but truth to say that the Rough Riders were in the thick of every fight, and the official reports show that they lost more officers than any of the regulars, and sustained casualties greater in number and more severe than fell to the lot of any other regiment. They lost more in killed, had more disabled by wounds and had fewer missing.

All authorities agree that owing to the nature of the ground, the extreme heat and other circumstances our troops had very hard fighting. This is evident from what General Wheeler says in his book on “The Santiago Campaign.”

“As we rode for the first time into Santiago,” he says, “we were struck by the excellent manner in which the Spanish lines were fortified, and more especially by the formidable defenses with which they had barricaded the roads. The one in question, on which we were traveling, was barricaded in no less than four places, said defenses consisting of an enormous mass of barbed iron wire, stretched across the entire width of the road. They were not merely single lines of wire, but pieces running perpendicularly, diagonally, horizontally, and in every other direction, resembling nothing so much as a huge thick spider web with an enormous mass in the center.

"Behind this some ten or fifteen feet were barrels of an extraordinary size, filled with sand, stones and concrete, on the tops of which sand bags were placed in such fashion as to leave small holes through which the Spaniards could sight their guns. It would, indeed, have been a hard task for American troops, were they ever so brave and courageous, to have taken by storm a city which was protected by such defenses as these. Nothing short of artillery could have swept such obstructions out of the way, and even then they would have been more or less effective because of the narrowness of the road and the high banks on each side, which would have prevented getting the obstructions out of the way.

"Even the streets were intrenched in similar fashion, the people taking refuge in the upper stories of their houses. Had it come to a hand-to-hand fight, as at one time was feared, the American troops would have suffered a fearful loss, being necessarily placed at such a disadvantage. It was fortunate, therefore, that the surrender came when it did; for otherwise many a brave boy who has returned to resume his avocations of peace, or to do his duty as a soldier in his native land, would have found his last resting-place on Cuban soil."

TWO DAYS IN A MUDDY DITCH.

An appreciative biographer of Roosevelt relates the following: "A young lieutenant tells an incident of a night in the trenches which illustrates the power which Roosevelt had over his men and how he managed to hold it. It was the night of the Spanish sortie on the captured trenches. The Rough Riders had lain for forty-eight hours in the muddy ditch, sweltering by day, shivering by night. At the hour of early morning the Spaniards appeared in a dense, dark line at the top of the hill. The men in the trenches stirred uneasily. Tired and discouraged, chilled to the bone, they were ready to bolt at a signal or a movement from anyone. But suddenly they saw Colonel Roosevelt walking calmly along the top of the intrenchment, with a faded blue handkerchief flapping from his hat.

"He seemed to be oblivious of the rain of Mauser bullets

which were falling about him, and was apparently as unconscious of danger as if he were strolling in the woods on a summer's day. But the effect of his coolness on the men was remarkable. A cheer went up, and every one was calling to the colonel to come down out of danger. The restlessness was over, and the drooping spirits of the men gave place to grim determination to prove as heroic as their leader. A cowboy lieutenant said: 'That was the bravest thing I ever saw in my life.' "

The lack of food proved a trial to the Rough Riders after the surrender of Santiago. In his official report to the War Department, Colonel Roosevelt said:

ONLY HALF FIT FOR DUTY.

"On the 17th the city surrendered. On the 18th we shifted camp, but the march under the noonday sun told very heavily on our men, weakened by underfeeding and overwork, and the next morning one hundred and twenty-three cases were reported to the doctor, and I now have but half of the six hundred men with which I landed four weeks ago fit for duty, and these are not fit to do anything like the work they could do then. As we had but one wagon, the change necessitated leaving much of my stuff behind, with a night of discomfort, with scanty shelter, and scanty food for most of the officers and many of the men. Only the possession of the impoverished pack train saved us from being worse.

"Yesterday I sent in a detail of six officers and men to see if they could not purchase or make arrangements for a supply of proper food and proper clothing for the men, even if we had to pay for it out of our own pockets. Our suffering had been due primarily to lack of transportation and of proper food or sufficient clothing and of medical supplies. We should now have wagon sheets for tentage.

"Very respectfully,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ROUND ROBIN LETTER.

ROOSEVELT'S SOLICITUDE FOR HIS COMMAND—APPEAL TO GENERAL SHAFTER—DANGERS OF MALARIAL AND YELLOW FEVER—SCARCITY OF MILITARY SUPPLIES—LETTER SIGNED BY OFFICERS SENT TO WAR DEPARTMENT—PROMPT ORDER FOR THE TROOPS TO RETURN FROM CUBA—INCIDENTS OF THE VOYAGE—IN CAMP AT MONTAUK POINT—PROVIDING COMFORTS FOR THE SOLDIERS—REGIMENT DISBANDED—COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S RETURN HOME—TRIBUTES TO OUR HEROES.

THE famous "round robin" letter was additional evidence of the great interest Colonel Roosevelt felt in his men and his earnest endeavor to promote their comfort and welfare in every possible way.

A "round robin" is a letter or protest embodying usually a complaint and request, and signed by several parties. The former custom of appending the signatures in a circle in order that it might not be known who signed first, will account for the use of the word "round" in this connection, while the term "robin" is supposed to be derived from the French *ruban*, signifying ribbon.

The letter of Colonel Roosevelt and other officers came like a bombshell and produced much comment and excitement. The circumstances of the case, however, justified this action, and when it had been determined upon there was no halting or hesitation.

The formal surrender of Santiago took place on July 17th. Throughout the ranks of the American troops there was the noise of victory. The soldiers were in a merry mood. The Stars and Stripes were planted on the enemy's ramparts amidst hurrahs and the blare of trumpets. Before the onward march of our troops and in anticipation of the town being bombarded, many of the inhabitants fled to places of safety in the suburbs. They were a motley crowd—the old, the infirm, the ragged, the hungry, women with

wan faces and children shuddering with fear. When the fighting was over and our flag was hoisted the refugees came pouring down the Caney road into the city.

Their forlorn condition excited the pity of our soldiers, and they promptly rendered aid to all who needed it, especially to the women and children, often carrying the latter in their arms, dividing their rations with the half-starved, and supporting the tottering steps of the aged and infirm. There was no war now, and the men who could fight like demons showed how tender and sympathetic were their hearts in the presence of distress and suffering. Even war with all its cruelties cannot rob a man of those generous impulses and sympathies that are common to human nature.

STORY OF "HAPPY JACK."

It is related that Colonel Roosevelt saw one man who went by the name of Happy Jack carrying bundles and children all day long, finding the greatest pleasure in the service he was rendering to the poor old worn and weary refugees. Then came an order from the doctor that, as these bundles and household effects might communicate disease, which had already broken out, the soldiers must cease this part of their charitable work. This order did not please Happy Jack, who declared, respectfully but forcibly, that "the Almighty would never let a man catch a disease when he was doing a good action." Colonel Roosevelt admired the man's spirit, but remarked that he himself "would not venture to such an advanced theological position."

After the surrender of Santiago our cavalry left the town and went into camp at El Caney. Here the men were in greater danger than they had been in the open field. They escaped Spanish bullets but could not escape tropical fevers. The weather was hot and debilitating. Rains and mud aggravated the situation. There was a scarcity of ambulances, of cots, of hospital supplies, of food fit for the sick, and worst of all, there was such apathy or mismanagement in the War Department at Washington that no one knew or could predict how long the army was to

be kept at Santiago, or whether it would be transferred to a healthier locality.

Such were the conditions in the field hospitals that Colonel Roosevelt kept the sick as long as possible in the regimental hospital at the front. Fever patients were compelled to lie on the ground ; not until near the last day of their stay were they provided with cots. Their clothing was badly worn and tattered, many were without shoes, and the officers were in want of underwear and stockings. Then yellow fever, that scourge of tropical countries, broke out among the Cubans in the rear. Fortunately it did not spread, but it created a panic, and as the accounts by reason of exaggeration were alarming the authorities at Washington feared to order troops back to the United States lest they should bring an epidemic with them.

ROOSEVELT'S HUMANE SPIRIT.

As there was nothing more for the army to do in Cuba, and as every hour added to the number of the sick until not more than fifty per cent. were equal to any kind of service, it seemed to the officers nothing less than criminal to keep our brave troops in that realm of death. Colonel Roosevelt especially was stirred to indignation, and other officers shared the same feeling. They thought our gallant army deserved better treatment. Owing to strict precautions there was no prospect that the troops if moved would carry yellow fever with them, and as it turned out, when they did return they did not bring a single case with them.

But it was expected at that time that, notwithstanding our great naval victory and the capture of Santiago and the Spanish Army, our troops would be wanted for a campaign in Porto Rico and they were eager to get orders to that effect. Or, if the war was not ended, it was believed that at Havana the Spaniards would make their last stand, and Colonel Roosevelt urged the removal of the army northward to be put in condition for active service. In fact, anything was better than to leave the men in Cuban jungles and swamps to perish of malaria and other diseases.

These glaring facts will account for all that follows in the history of the famous "round robin." In view of the fact that the troops were thus exposed and were suffering for food, clothing and medical supplies, Colonel Roosevelt addressed a letter to the General in command in these terms :

"MAJOR-GENERAL SHAFTER.

"SIR: In a meeting of the general and medical officers called by you at the Palace this morning, we were all, as you know, unanimous in view of what should be done with the army. To keep us here, in the opinion of every officer commanding a division or a brigade, simply will involve the destruction of thousands. There is no possible reason for not shipping practically the entire command North at once. Yellow fever cases are few in the cavalry division, where I command one of the two brigades, and not one true case of yellow fever has occurred in this division, except among the men sent to the hospital at Siboney, where they have, I believe, contracted it.

MALARIAL FEVER EPIDEMIC.

"But in this division there have been fifteen hundred cases of malarial fever. Not a man has died from it, but the whole command is so weakened and shattered as to be ripe for dying like rotten sheep when a real yellow fever epidemic, instead of a fake epidemic like the present, strikes us, as it is bound to do if we stay here at the height of the sickness season, August, and the beginning of September.

"Quarantine against malarial fever is much like quarantining against the toothache. All of us are certain, as soon as the authorities at Washington fully appreciate the conditions of the army, to be sent home. If we are kept here, it will, in all human probability, mean an appalling disaster, for the surgeons here estimate that more than half the army, if kept here during the sickly season, will die. This is not only terrible from the standpoint of the individual lives lost, but it means ruin from the standpoint of the military efficiency of the flower of the American army, for the great bulk of the regulars are here with you.

"The sick list, large though it is, exceeding four thousand, affords but a faint index of the debilitation of the army. Not ten per cent. are fit for active service. Six weeks on the north Maine coast, for instance, or elsewhere where the yellow fever germ cannot possibly propagate, would make us all as fit as fighting cocks, able as we are and eager to take a leading part in the great campaign against Havana in the fall, even if we are not allowed to try Porto Rico.

"We can be moved North, if moved at once, with absolute safety to the country, although, of course, it would have been infinitely better if we had been moved North or to Porto Rico two weeks ago. If there were any object in keeping us here we would face yellow fever with as much indifference as we face bullets. But there is no object in it. The four immune regiments ordered here are sufficient to garrison the city and surrounding towns, and there is absolutely nothing for us to do here, and there has not been since the city surrendered. It is impossible to move into the interior. Every shifting of camp doubles the sick rate in our present weakened condition, and, anyhow, the interior is rather worse than the coast, as I have found by actual reconnoissance.

"Our present camps are as healthy as any camps at this end of the island can be. I write only because I cannot see our men, who have fought so bravely and who have endured extreme hardship and danger so uncomplainingly, go to destruction without striving, so far as lies in me, to avert a doom as fearful as it is unnecessary and undeserved.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
"Colonel, Commanding First Brigade."

JUST LIKE THE MAN.

This pointed letter was characteristic of the man who wrote it. The camp conditions had become intolerable. It was a question whether the troops should be removed at once, or thousands should be doomed to die like sheep. If there had been a siege in progress, or any other necessity for the men to remain and suffer

their misfortunes, not a word of protest would have been uttered. If Santiago and the Spanish army had not already surrendered and the power of Spain in Cuba had not been utterly broken, the troops could hardly have been driven from the field. There was no disposition to evade any hardships and dangers except those that were entirely unnecessary. But their work was well done, and the conflict was ended.

After Colonel Roosevelt had made the first move all the other officers united in a circular letter to General Shafter which was remarkably earnest and frank :

"We, the undersigned officers, commanding the various brigades, divisions, etc., of the army of occupation in Cuba, are of the unanimous opinion that this army should be at once taken out of the Island of Cuba, and sent to some point on the seacoast of the United States ; that it can be done without danger to the people of the United States ; that yellow fever in the army is not now epidemic ; that there are only a few sporadic cases ; but that the army is disabled by malarial fever to the extent that its efficiency is destroyed, and that it is in a condition to be practically entirely destroyed by an epidemic of yellow fever, which is sure to come in the near future.

MUST BE MOVED OR PERISH.

"We know from the reports of competent officers and from personal observations, that the army is unable to move into the interior, and that there are no facilities for such a move if attempted, and that it could not be attempted until too late. Moreover, the best authorities of the island say that with our present equipment we could not live in the interior during the rainy season without losses from malarial fever, which is almost as deadly as yellow fever.

"This army must be moved at once or perish. As the army can be safely moved now, the persons responsible for preventing such a move will be responsible for the unnecessary loss of many thousands of lives. Our opinions are the result of careful personal observation and they are also based on the unanimous opinion

of our medical officers with the army, who understand the situation absolutely.

“J. FORD KENT,

“Major General Volunteers, Commanding First Div. 5th Corps.

“J. C. BATES,

“Major General Volunteers, Commanding Provisional Div.

“ADNA R. CHAFFEE,

“Major General, Commanding Third Brigade, Second Div.

“SAMUEL S. SUMNER,

“Brigadier General Volunteers, Commanding 1st Brig. Cav.

“ADELBERT AMES,

“Brigadier General Volunteers, Commanding 3rd Brig. 2d Div.

“LEONARD WOOD,

“Brig. Gen. Volunteers, Commanding Second Cavalry Brigade.

“THEODORE ROOSEVELT,

“Colonel Commanding Second Cavalry Brigade.”

RESENTMENT AT THE “ROUND ROBIN.”

General Alger seems to have been excited when he wrote :

“It would be impossible to exaggerate the mischievous and wicked effects of the ‘round robin.’ It afflicted the country with a plague of anguish and apprehension. There are martyrs in all wars, but the most piteous of these are the silent, helpless, heart-broken ones who stay at home to weep and pray and wait—the mother, sister, wife and sweetheart. To their natural suspense and suffering these publications added the pangs of imaginary terrors. They had endured, through sympathy, the battle-field, the wasting hardships of the camp, the campaign in the tropics, the fever-stricken trench. They might at least have been spared this wanton torture, this impalpable and formless yet overwhelming blow.”

This pointed communication accomplished exactly what was intended. It was a united demand by our commanders for such action as would save thousands of lives, and such pressure was put upon the authorities at Washington that they were compelled to

act. In some mysterious way the letter got into the hands of the Associated Press and was published broadcast throughout the country.

The reception that awaited the troops may be inferred from the following lines by Florence Earle Coates :

WELCOME.

Come home ! The land that sent you forth
From East and West, from South and North,
Looks wistfully beyond her gates,
Extends her arms and waits—and waits !
At duty's call she stilled her woe ;
She smiled, through tears, and bade you go
To face the death you would not shun.
Brave hearts, return ! Your task is done.
Not as you journeyed come you back ;
A burning glow is round your track
Of deeds that vanquished tyranny
And set a tortured people free !
Deeds, sprung of manhood's finest grace,
That envious time will not efface ;
Deeds that proclaim a nation's worth,
And crown the land that gave them birth.
America but waits to greet
And bless you, kneeling at her feet.
Your standards fair in honor furled,
The proudest mother in the world !
Come home ! The land that sent you forth
From East and West, from South and North,
Looks wistfully beyond her gates,
Extends her arms and waits !

It will be noticed that at this time it was expected that the seat of war in Cuba would be transferred to Havana, but the war was over, and after a short campaign of our army in Porto Rico, Spain saw the futility of further warfare and very wisely took measures for obtaining terms of peace.

Meanwhile the Rough Riders embarked on the transport Miami, August 6th, and were soon on their way to Montauk

Point, Long Island. They were a jovial happy crowd. They had proved their soldierly qualities, and after the hardships of the campaign were pleased with the prospect of going home. Their heroic dead had been buried on the battlefield, and the only thing to mar the pleasure of the returning troopers was the loss of so many brave fellows who went out at their country's call, but not to come back. The roll of the dead and the roll of honor are the usual accompaniments of war.

Soon after the transport sailed with the troops on board word was brought to Colonel Roosevelt that the firemen and engineers were on a grand drunk and almost entirely incapable of properly doing their work. Some of the troopers had been supplying them with whiskey in a most amicable display of goodfellowship. The colonel instituted a rigid search, with the result of finding that a number of men had provided themselves with the means for a glorious celebration, and were turning the occasion into an uproarious jollification. He asked them to give up their bottles, telling them that at the end of the voyage he would return to them an amount equal to what he had taken. Moreover, if they refused he would seize the liquor and throw it overboard. There was no more trouble in the engine room and the ship proceeded on its way.

RETURNED TROOPERS IN CAMP.

It was decided to place the returned troopers in a camp on Long Island in order that they might rest and recruit, and also to be able the more readily to check the spread of any epidemic that might break out among them. The cool sea air would be beneficial, and the large number of sick and disabled would have a fair chance of being restored.

The general public manifested great interest in the heroes of the war, visited the camp in large numbers, and the men received every possible attention and were supplied not only with necessities, but with many luxuries.

Already peace negotiations were in progress. Spain was defeated on land and sea. The men who had taken part in the struggle were quite envied by those who had hoped to go to the

front, but at the last moment were compelled to remain behind. On this point Colonel Roosevelt observes :

“Of course those who stayed had done their duty precisely as did those who went, for the question of glory was not to be considered in comparison to the faithful performance of whatever was ordered ; and no distinction of any kind was allowed in the regiment between those whose good fortune it had been to go and those



COLONEL ROOSEVELT WRITING AN ORDER AT CAMP WYKOFF.

whose harder fate it had been to remain. Nevertheless the latter could not be entirely comforted.”

During the month in which the Rough Riders remained on Long Island, Camp Wykoff became the centre of interest to people far and near. There was a great desire everywhere to render some charitable service to the soldiers whereby their health and comfort would be promoted. One wealthy gentleman sent a ship-load of ice. Others sent fresh vegetables, pot plants and cut

flowers. In short, whatever it was thought would be of any benefit to the soldiers in camp was furnished with a lavish hand.

Miss Helen Gould especially was conspicuous for her timely and most generous benefactions. More than this, she took a personal interest in the welfare of the men, visited the camp, ministered to the wants of the sick, and by her gifts and active services endeared herself to every man in the regiment. All this she did without any flourish of trumpets, but quietly and without thrusting herself on the notice of the public. It would be sufficient honor and compensation to have her name written in the hearts and memories of those whose patriotism she admired. Other women—"society ladies" perhaps they were called—vied with Miss Gould in this ministry of kindness and charity. No appeal was disregarded, and no opportunity to benefit the recruiting troopers failed to meet a prompt response.

VISIT FROM PRESIDENT McKINLEY.

President McKinley and several members of the Cabinet also visited the camp, mingling on the most friendly terms with the soldiers, listening to their tales, sharing in their harmless merriment, and visiting the sick in the hospitals. All visitors who came appeared to be eager to obtain souvenirs from the Rough Riders, and were not particular as to what the memento was, so long as it had any connection with the "heroes of Santiago." The soldiers could have parted with all their belongings even to their old shoes and locks of their hair. And such was the demand for autographs that the officers facetiously remarked that they would be compelled to employ secretaries to write their autographs for them.

"It had been a strange experience for the cowboys to be without horses in Cuba. Half of their lives, it might almost be said, had been spent on horseback. Mounted on a wild, kicking, plunging mustang, the ranchman is quite at home. When the men arrived at Tampa on their way to the front they had to embark without their horses. These were provided for the officers in Cuba, but the rank and file could have made but little use of their mounts in the thickets and jungles around Santiago.

But when the regiment reached Camp Wykoff there was an ample supply of horses, and back of the camp were sandy plains that formed a smooth riding ground, and this was utilized by the men to the fullest extent. For the first time many of the soldiers felt that they were ready for the most efficient service. The campaign in Cuba had been doubly hard on them because they were so unused to tramping on foot. They had enlisted, however, with a full knowledge of the deprivations they were likely to suffer, and when these were encountered they did not in the least shake the courage of the men, or awaken any dissatisfaction.

AN EXPERT RIDER.

An incident that created interest and amusement occurred on one of the days when Secretary Alger visited the camp. The Rough Riders had practiced mounted drill during their stay at Montauk Point, quite as much for pastime and healthful exercise as for any other reason. On the day mentioned while the members of the Third Cavalry were preparing for their drill, a trooper who attempted to ride a big, vicious sorrel horse was thrown, and the horse ran away. The animal was caught, the trooper mounted the second time, and was again thrown. All this occurred in the regular cavalry, and it was agreed that no one of the contingent could manage this particular "bucker."

Some of the Rough Riders made sport of the affair and laughed at the regulars who admitted that in all likelihood anyone of them who should attempt to ride the horse would be thrown. They dared any Rough Rider to try his skill, never doubting but the result would be the same. Sergeant Darnell, who was known to be an expert rider, was selected as the one to make the trial. All the soldiers and hundreds of visitors gathered round the open field to enjoy the fun. Once in the saddle, Darnell proved that he had a habit of "sticking." The big sorrel reared, jumped, plunged and evidently did his best to shake off his antagonist, but, much to the admiration of the Rough Riders, Darnell held his seat and finally came off victorious.

The regiment was at length mustered out. In describing it

Colonel Roosevelt says: "The last night before we were mustered out was spent in noisy but entirely harmless hilarity, which I ignored. Every form of celebration took place in the ranks. A former populist candidate for attorney-general in Colorado delivered a fervent oration in favor of free silver. A number of the college boys sang; but most of the men gave vent to their feelings by means of improvised dances. In these the Indians took the lead, pure bloods and half-breeds alike, the cowboys and miners cheerfully joining in and forming part of the howling, grunting rings that went bounding about the great fires they had kindled.

"Next morning Sergeant Wright took down the colors, and Sergeant Guitillas the standard, for the last time. The horses, the rifles, the rest of the regimental property had been turned in. Officers and men shook hands and said good bye to one another, and then they scattered to their homes in the North and the South, the few going to the great cities of the East, the many turning again to the plains, the mountains and the deserts of the West and the strange Southwest. This was on September 15, the day which marked the close of the four months' life of a regiment of as gallant fighters as ever wore the United States uniform."

AN AFFECTING SCENE.

The scene when the Rough Riders bade good-bye to their gallant leader was one never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Each took him by the hand with a heartiness and an expression of gratitude and good wishes that told how sincere was their admiration and affection. In some instances tears fell from the eyes of these rough frontiersmen, and proved that hearts both tender and true beat under the roughest exteriors. It was evident that the men parted with the leader who had shared all their hardships and trials with deep regret. His name awakened their unbounded enthusiasm, and they would have followed him into the very jaws of death.

His superior officers held him in the same high regard. In a letter addressed to him, General Wheeler said:

"The valor displayed by you was not without sacrifice.

Eighteen per cent., or nearly one in five, of the cavalry division fell on the field either killed or wounded. We mourn the loss of these heroic dead, and a grateful country will always revere their memory. Whatever may be my fate, wherever my steps may lead, my heart will burn with increasing admiration for your courage in action, your fortitude under privation, and your constant devotion to duty in its highest sense, whether in battle, in bivouac, or upon the march."

Such testimony, coming from such a source, has a meaning that cannot be mistaken. To compel the admiration and love of a tried soldier and general shows that Mr. Roosevelt is possessed of qualities such as have belonged to very few.

The war over, the Rough Riders disbanded, he returned to his family, his old neighbors and friends at Oyster Bay, ready for any public service to which he might be called.

Not all who went forth in the pride and strength of their young manhood were among those who were mustered out when the war was over. The following poem by S. E. Kiser expresses the sorrowful side of the war :

THE MISSING ONE.

I don't think I'll go into town to see the boys come back ;
My bein' there would do no good in all that jam and pack ;
There'll be enough to welcome them—to cheer them when they come
A-marchin' bravely to the tune that's beat upon the drum—
They'll never miss me in the crowd—not one of 'em will care
If, when the cheers are ringin' loud, I'm not among them there
I went to see them march away—I hollered with the rest,
And didn't they look fine, that day, a-marchin' four abreast,
With my boy James up near the front, as handsome as could be,
And wavin' back a fond farewell to mother and to me !
I vow my old knees trembled so, when they had all got by,
I had to jist sit down upon the curbstone there and cry.
And now they're comin' home again ! The record that they won
Was sich as shows we still have men, when men's work's to be done !
There wasn't one of 'em that flinched, each feller stood the test—
Wherever they was sent they sailed right in and done their best !

They didn't go away to play—they knowed what was in store—
But there's a grave somewhere to-day, down on the Cuban shore !
I guess I'll not go down to see the boys come in ;
I don't jist feel like mixin' up in all that crush and din !
There'll be enough to welcome them—to cheer them when they come
A-marchin' bravely to the time that's beat upon the drum,
And the boys'll never notice—not a one of 'em will care,
For the soldier that would miss me ain't a-goin' to be there !

Of similiar import is another tribute in verse from the pen of
M. Loudon Hyndman :

THE NATION'S DEAD AT SANTIAGO.

Beneath the turf on Cuba's soil their sacred ashes lie,
The soft, warm breeze from Southern climes sweeps o'er them with a sigh;
The palm and high palmetto, gently drooping where they sleep,
Now o'er our fallen heroes cast their mantling shadows deep.
The cannon's roar and battle cry no more shall pierce the air,
But birds' melodious trilling rise in sweetest cadence there ;
The music as of waters, rushing o'er their pebbly bed,
Now swell kind Nature's harmony around the sleeping dead.
Their names in polished lustre now are carved on every heart ;
Their epitaph should ever be "They nobly did their part ;"
The toil, the strife, and danger did but thrill each manly breast,
And fire their hearts with greater zeal to do their gallant best.
There be dear ones in the Northland who these sleeping heroes mourn,
We see them pale with anguish, yea, with aching sorrow worn ;
Bethink ye, sad and des'late ones, these sons, thy noble slain,
Upon a brighter morning, ye will fondly greet again.
Bethink ye 'twas for Freedom that your glorious ones have died,
That by their mighty efforts they have saved the nation's pride ;
Be calm, the God of Battles, sure will make His judgment plain,
And thy sacrifice shall never, no never be in vain.
In Fame's proud temple written is the record of their deeds,
Their names shall oft be sounded where the path to glory leads,
'Twill be told in martial story how the foe before them reeled,
And the tyrant's yoke was broken on El Caney's bloody field.

CHAPTER XIV.

MR. ROOSEVELT ELECTED GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

POPULAR DEMAND COMPELS ROOSEVELT'S NOMINATION—PARTY LEADERS FALL INTO LINE—SENATOR DEPEW'S NOMINATING SPEECH IN THE CONVENTION—ROOSEVELT MAKES SPEECHES THROUGHOUT THE STATE—ELECTED BY A HANDSOME PLURALITY—HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS—LEGISLATION ENACTED BY HIS RECOMMENDATION—A POPULAR HERO.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S achievements in the war were such as to greatly increase the respect felt for him, not only in his native State, but in every part of our country. His name became a household word; his valor and courage in battle created universal comment; his considerate care and kindness shown towards the brave men exposed to pestilence in Cuba, and his prompt, energetic way of doing whatever needed to be done, all united to render him a sort of popular idol.

Moreover, he had distinguished himself in every public office he had held. His freedom from even the suspicion of corruption, his lofty aims and endeavors, his thorough honesty and the possession of those noble qualities which separate the true statesman from the mere politician, appealed strongly to his fellow citizens, and made them feel that he was a man who could not be spared, and should not be allowed to retire to private life.

Even before the surrender of Santiago in July there were unmistakable evidences that Roosevelt was his party's choice for Governor. This sentiment was soon made plain by the conversation of men on the street, by interviews in the press with prominent party leaders, and by the loud acclaim with which his name was greeted on every public occasion where it was mentioned. The sentiment in favor of his nomination gathered force day by day. Buttons decorated with his portrait found a ready market, with a host of voters to wear them, including especially young men.

Governor Frank S. Black had been elected two years previously by an immense plurality. If precedent and success counted for anything he should receive the nomination the second time. The masses of the people, however, were becoming restless. Much was said about "boss rule," and the disposition to revolt against the "machine" created alarm among the party leaders. Many of the "machine" supporters opposed the nomination of Roosevelt. He was not sufficiently pliable. He could not be trusted to do anything out of the line of what was his strict duty.

Was he not independent, set in his views and resolute in maintaining them? Did he not have a mind of his own, and respectfully decline to borrow the mind of anybody else? Had he not shown a most lamentable disrespect for machine politicians when he was a member of the Legislature, Civil Service Commissioner, and president of the Police Board of New York? Such a man as that for Governor? Why, the thing was preposterous.

WANTED BY THE RANK AND FILE.

But the personal characteristics and the public record that caused some of the party leaders to oppose his nomination, were among the chief reasons why the rank and file of his party wished to elevate him to the highest office in the State. In the nominating convention there was but one other candidate besides himself. Governor Black was not unconscious of Mr. Roosevelt's popularity, but he determined to secure the nomination if possible. His friends supported him faithfully, yet all their efforts failed to stay the tide that had been running for weeks in Roosevelt's favor. Judge J. R. Cady, of Hudson, nominated Governor Black, but failed to awaken any enthusiasm for his candidate.

The speech of Senator Depew, placing Mr. Roosevelt in nomination, was so appreciative and graceful, and withal so just a tribute to the man, that we present it here entire :

"GENTLEMEN : Not since 1863 has the Republican party met in convention when the conditions of the country were so interesting or so critical. Then the emancipation of President Lincoln,

giving freedom and citizenship to four millions of slaves, brought about a revolution in the internal policy of our government which seemed to multitudes of patriotic men full of the gravest dangers to the republic. The effect of the situation was the sudden and violent sundering of the ties which bound the past to the present and the future. New problems were precipitated upon our statesmen to solve, which were not to be found in the text-books of the schools, nor in the manuals of traditions of Congress. The one courageous, constructive party which our politics has known for half a century, solved those problems so successfully that the regenerated and disenthralled republic has grown and prospered under this new birth of liberty beyond all precedent and every prediction.

"Now as then, the unexpected has happened. The wildest dream ever born of the imagination of the most optimistic believer in our destiny could not foresee when McKinley was elected two years ago the on-rushing torrent of events of the past three months. We are either to be submerged by this break in the dikes erected by Washington about our government, or we are to find by the wise utilization of the conditions forced upon us how to be safer and stronger within our old boundaries, and to add incalculably to American enterprise and opportunity by becoming masters of the sea, and entering with the surplus of our manufactures the markets of the world.

NEW EVENTS AND PROBLEMS.

"We cannot retreat or hide. We must 'ride the waves and direct the storm.' A war has been fought and won, and vast possessions new and far away, have been acquired. In the short space of one hundred and thirteen days politicians and parties have been forced to meet new questions and to take sides upon startling issues. The face of the world has been changed. The maps of yesterday are obsolete. Columbus, looking for the Orient and its fabled treasures, sailed four hundred years ago into the landlocked harbor of Santiago, and to-day his spirit sees his bones resting under the flag of a new and great country which

has found the way and conquered the outposts, and is knocking at the door of the farthest East.

"The times require constructive statesmen. As in 1776 and 1865, we need architects and builders. A protective tariff, sound money—the gold standard, the retirement of the government from the banking business, and State issues are just as important as ever. Until three months ago to succeed we would have had to satisfy the voters of the soundness and wisdom of our position on these questions. The cardinal principles of the Republican policy will be the platform of this canvass and of future ones.

"But at this juncture the people have temporarily put everything else aside and are applying their whole thought to the war with Spain and its consequences. We believe that they think and will vote that our war with Spain was just and righteous. We cannot yet say that American constituencies have settled convictions on territorial expansion and the government of distant islands and alien races. We can say that Republican opinion glories in our victories and follows the flag.

ROOSEVELT FOR GOVERNOR.

"The resistless logic of events overcomes all other considerations and impels me to present the name of, as it will persuade you to nominate as our candidate for Governor of the State of New York, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. If he were only the hero of a brilliant charge on the battlefield, and there was nothing else which fitted him for this high place, I would not put him in nomination.

"But Colonel Roosevelt has shown conspicuous ability in the public service for ten years. He was a soldier three months. It is not time which tells with an executive mind and restless energy like Roosevelt's, but opportunity. Give him the chance and he leads to victory. He has held two positions which generally ruin the holder of them with politicians and the unthinking. One was Civil Service Commissioner and the other Police Commissioner for New York City. So long as the public did not understand him there was plenty of lurid language and gnashing of teeth.

"The people are always just in the end. Let them know everything that can be said about a man and see all the searchlight of publicity will reveal and their verdict is the truth. When the smoke had cleared away from the batteries of abuse they saw the untouched and unharmed figure of a public-spirited, broad-minded, and courageous officer, who understood official responsibility to mean the performance without fear or favor of the work he had promised to do and obedience to the laws he had sworn to support. The missiles from those batteries flew past him as innocuously as did the bullets from the Spanish Mausers on the hill of San Juan.

"When he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy he was in a sphere more congenial to his genius and abilities. He is a better soldier than he is a policeman. Life on the plains had broadened his vision and invigorated his youth. Successful excursions into the literature of the ranch, and the hunting for big game had opened up for him the present resources and boundless possibilities of the United States.

RESOLVES TO FORM A REGIMENT.

"He was fortunately under the most accomplished, able, generous, and indulgent chief in Secretary Long. A small man would have been jealous of this dynamitic bundle of brains, nerves, energy, and initiative, but our distinguished Secretary gave full scope to his brilliant assistant. The country owes much to him for the efficiency and splendid condition of our Navy.

"The wife of a cabinet officer told me that when Assistant Secretary Roosevelt announced that he had determined to resign and raise a regiment for the war, some of the ladies in the administration circle thought it their duty to remonstrate with him. They said: 'Mr. Roosevelt, you have six children, the youngest a few months old. While the country is full of young men who have no such responsibilities and are eager to enlist, you have no right to leave the burden upon your wife of the care, support, and bringing up of that family.' Roosevelt's answer was a Roosevelt answer: 'I have done as much as any one to bring on this war,

because I believed it must come, and the sooner the better, and now that war is declared I have no right to ask others to do the fighting and stay at home myself.'

"The regiment of rough riders was an original American suggestion, to demonstrate that patriotism and indomitable courage are common to all conditions of American life. The same great qualities are found under the slouch hat of the cowboy, and the elegant imported tile of New York's gilded youth. Their mannerisms are the veneers of the West and the East; their manhood is the same.

"In that hot, and pest-cursed climate of Cuba officers had opportunities for protection from miasma and fever which were not possible for the men. But the Rough Riders endured no hardships nor dangers which were not shared by their colonel. He helped them dig the ditches; he stood beside them in the deadly dampness of the trenches. No floored tent for him if his comrades must sleep on the ground and under the sky.

CHARGED IN ADVANCE OF HIS MEN.

"In that world-famed charge of the Rough Riders through the hail of shot and up the hill of San Juan, their colonel was a hundred feet in advance. The bullets whistling by him are rapidly thinning the ranks of these desperate fighters. The colonel trips and falls and the line wavers, but in a moment he is up again, waving his sword, climbing and shouting. He bears a charmed life. He clips the barbed wire fence and plunges through, yelling 'Come on, boys; come on, and we will lick hell out of them.' The moral force of that daring cowed and awed the Spaniards, and they fled from their fortified heights and Santiago was ours.

"Colonel Roosevelt is the typical citizen-soldier. The sanitary condition of our army in Cuba might not have been known for weeks through the regular channels of inspection and report to the various departments. Here the citizen in the colonel overcame the official routine reticence of the soldier. His graphic letter to the government and the round robin he initiated brought suddenly and sharply to our attention the frightful dangers of dis-

ease and death, and resulted in our boys being brought immediately home. He may have been subject to court martial for violating the articles of war, but the humane impulses of the people gave him gratitude and applause.

"It is seldom in political conflicts, when new and unexpected issues have to be met and decided, that a candidate can be found who personifies the popular and progressive side of those issues. Representative men move the masses to enthusiasm and are more easily understood than measures. Lincoln, with his immortal declaration, made at a time when to make it insured his defeat by Douglas for the United States Senate, that 'a house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free,' embodied the anti-slavery doctrine.

HERO OF THE HOUR.

"Grant, with Appomattox and the parole of honor to the Confederate Army behind him, stood for the perpetuity of union and liberty. McKinley, by his long and able advocacy of its principles, is the leading spirit for the protection of American industries. For this year, for this crisis, for the voters of the Empire State, for the young men of the country and the upward, onward, and outward trend of the United States, the candidate of candidates is the hero of Santiago, the idol of the Rough Riders—Colonel Theodore Roosevelt."

Enthusiastic cheering followed Senator Depew's eloquent speech. It was plain that Roosevelt was the hero of the hour. Other speeches in behalf of both candidates were made, and when the result of the balloting was announced, Judge Cady rose and said: "On behalf of Governor Frank S. Black and on behalf of every delegate who voted for him in this convention, I say they will stand by the nomination of Colonel Roosevelt as he stood by the country. We will not be in the reserve forces, but we will be at the front and we will stand shoulder to shoulder with the best of you and push Colonel Roosevelt into the executive chair by a tremendous majority. More than that we will take the executive

chair for Colonel Roosevelt as he took as a Rough Rider the heights of San Juan."

The vote of the convention was 753 for Roosevelt and 218 for Black. The nomination of the hero of Santiago was made unanimous amidst cheers that shook the building where the delegates were assembled. It was believed that never before in the State of New York had a political convention done a better piece of work. If the friends of Governor Black felt some disappointment over the outcome of the convention they wisely concealed it, and yielded their personal preferences to the will of the majority.

Republicans in the State of New York and throughout the country gave hearty response to the nomination. Mr. Roosevelt was invulnerable against all attacks on the ground of political dishonesty or incapacity. Young as he was he had shown great ability as a public official, and it was believed he was more than equal to the situation. When told that people thought he would make a good Governor, his modest reply was, "I will try."

A MAN WITH A LEVEL HEAD.

This answer was characteristic of the man. The repeated honors thrust upon him have never turned his head. Having no element of self-conceit in his composition, and being in no sense a victim of pride, he busies himself, not with his own successes, but with the duties and responsibilities of his office. The nomination for Governor came in the natural order of events. He had worked up to it by his own efforts for better government, and it did not take him by surprise. If he had been defeated in the convention he would not have berated his party, but would have proved his loyalty by ardently supporting the nominee.

No loud hurrah characterized the beginning of the campaign that followed his nomination. It was almost taken for granted that he would be elected, and that no special effort to this end was needed. A very respectable candidate was put in the field by the opposing party, one comparatively unknown, and therefore one against whom little could be said. Mr. Roosevelt was not disposed to take any chances, and at once prepared to wage an active

campaign. Although the Democratic nominee, Augustus Van Wyck, was not likely to draw to himself the independent vote, it was thought that he would receive the vote of his party, and this would make him a formidable antagonist.

ROOSEVELT ON THE STUMP.

Mr. Roosevelt prepared to stump the State. The people waited for his coming. He was the man they wished to see and hear. Mr. Odell, chairman of the Republican State Committee, and afterward Governor, rather objected to Mr. Roosevelt's plan of making a tour through the State, yielding only when it was found that no other speaker could satisfy the demand of the people to meet the leader of the Rough Riders face to face. When it was known that he was to appear at any town there was an immense outpouring of the people to greet him. He passed rapidly from place to place, addressed the crowds from the rear platform of his car, and made in all about three hundred speeches. They were sharp, incisive, right to the point, and admirably adapted to the average intelligence of those who heard him.

In a speech at Utica he made these significant statements: "My opponents ask you to vote only as New Yorkers. I ask you to vote as New Yorkers; I ask you to remember every State issue; I ask you to keep in mind carefully every matter concerning the welfare of New York.

"But I ask you also to remember that you are not only New Yorkers, but Americans, that you have interests not only in the State but in the Union—which is greater than any State—that your welfare is bound up with the welfare of the nation, and that the honor of each man of you is sensitive to the honor of the flag.

"I ask you to remember that you cannot, if you would, help letting your ballots this fall have their effect throughout the Union. You cannot vote a half ballot. You cannot put a caveat on your ballot that will only be heard of in the State of New York.

"As New York goes on November 8th, so the friends of honest finance, the believers in national honor throughout the Union will be elated or cast down."

The election in November gave Mr. Roosevelt a plurality of 18,079. A very considerable part of the vote he received was a personal tribute to his sterling qualities as a man, a public official and a patriot who was ready to place his country above every other consideration.

On the 31st of December, 1898, he took the oath of office at the capitol in Albany, and on Monday, January 2d, was inaugurated as the 36th Governor of New York, thus taking his place in a line of distinguished men that runs back to 1777, at which time the State constitution was adopted. The inauguration ceremony was held in the Assembly Chamber at 11 o'clock. Mr. Black, the retiring Governor, made a felicitous address of welcome to the new executive.

The first message of Governor Roosevelt was sent to the Legislature on January 4th. It bore all the evidences of his thoughtful mind and scholarly attainments.

GOVERNOR'S FIRST MESSAGE.

He touched upon the Civil Service as follows : " The methods of appointment to the civil service of the State are now in utter confusion, no less than three great systems being in effect—one in the City of New York, one in other cities, and one in the State at large. I recommend that a law be passed introducing one uniform practice for the entire State, and providing, as required by the Constitution, for the enforcement of civil service regulations in the State and its subdivisions."

On the labor question he declared : " The development in extent and variety of industries has necessitated legislation in the interest of labor. This legislation is not necessarily against the interests of capital ; on the contrary, if wisely devised it is for the benefit of both laborers and employers. We have very wisely passed many laws for the benefit of labor, in themselves good, and for the time being, sufficient ; but experience has shown that the full benefit of these laws is not obtained through the lack of proper means of enforcing them and the failure to make any one department responsible for their enforcement."

The Governor also had something to say concerning the late war: "We are not merely New Yorkers. We are Americans; and the interests of all Americans, whether from the North, the South, the East or the great West, are equally dear to the men of the Empire State. As we grow into a mighty nation, which, whether it will or not, must inevitably play a great part for good or for evil in the affairs of the world at large, the people of New York wish it understood that they look at all questions of American foreign policy from the most thoroughly national standpoint."

It soon became evident that a man of unusual vigor was in the Governor's chair. He had no idea of being a mere figure-head, or a tool of men who had "axes to grind." He saw abundant occasion for many changes and reforms in the State laws, and for the enactment of special legislation to correct old abuses. He went about the work in his own energetic way, and even those who did not altogether approve the measures he proposed could not doubt but his one aim was to promote the public welfare and render the best service to all interests affected by State legislation.

IMPROVING CONDITION OF THE POOR.

He gave all the aid possible to the Tenement Commission that had for its object the closing of sweat-shops and improving the condition of the poor. There were grievous evils from which the people in tenement house districts were suffering, and persistent efforts were made to abolish these and better the social, sanitary and moral condition of the localities in large cities which were most crowded with population.

Mr. Roosevelt was again confronted with the old chronic problem of the police force of New York. Laws had been enacted apparently for the purpose of defeating themselves. Whether from stupidity or chicanery the enactments were such that it was almost impossible to effect any change for the better in the administration of the police force. Responsibility could be placed upon no one, and at this vital part of city government there was almost complete paralysis. Senator Platt seconded the Governor's efforts to mend matters by advocating the measures proposed, but through

the apathy and neglect of Republican Senators the proposed enactments failed to carry.

Governor Roosevelt succeeded in reforming the administration of the canals, by making the Canal Commission non-partisan. He also applied the merit system to county offices, thereby greatly improving the civil service.

But the Governor soon showed that he was gunning for bigger game. The great wealthy corporations of New York, holding valuable franchises, had long taken advantage of some legal technicality and escaped paying taxes. Mr. Roosevelt claimed that the State was defrauded, that these corporations were legitimate subjects for taxation, and that to exempt them and compel the people to pay the large share of taxation that properly belonged to these institutions was nothing less than public robbery. It soon became evident that he had the hottest kind of a fight on hand. Fierce opposition was aroused, both within his own party and without, and the most active and powerful agencies combined to compass his defeat.

CORPORATIONS BROUGHT TO TERMS.

A cry went up like that which greeted Paul at Ephesus, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," and men ran to and fro declaring that their craft was in danger. The corporations had been so long undisturbed that they resented any demands made upon them as almost an infringement of their vested rights. But Governor Roosevelt called an extra session of the Legislature and secured the passage of a bill, which, if it was not as drastic and comprehensive as he wished, established the principle of street franchise legislation. By reason of this notable victory the State was many million dollars richer, and the burdens of taxation that had been borne by the poor and people in moderate circumstances were rendered so much the lighter.

The struggle thus ended was one of the fiercest ever fought to a conclusion. Although the object sought was a fair and just equalization of taxes between the rich and poor, every possible scheme, every influence that could be commanded, and every

appeal that could be made to sordid and selfish motives, were employed to block legislation and defeat justice. This one act on the Governor's part was hailed by the people of the State with the greatest satisfaction and added to a popularity that was already great.

It was during his term of office that Admiral Dewey returned from Manila to receive a welcome such as has seldom been accorded to any hero. New York was crowded with visitors from near and far who had come to witness the celebration of our naval victory in the Philippines and do honor to the famous commander who had won it. Both the Army and Navy were splendidly represented in the procession. Gay uniforms, fluttering plumes and flags, strains of thrilling music and the appearance of the nation's most renowned defenders, all conspired to form a spectacle that would live forever in the memory of those who witnessed it. There was every demonstration of patriotic delight—tumultuous shouts and cheers, fluttering handkerchiefs, waving hats, loud huzzas from hundreds of thousands of excited spectators.

GREAT POPULAR DEMONSTRATION.

After the brilliant uniforms and shining equipments had passed there came a man in plain citizen's dress, mounted on a steady and not remarkably showy horse, his form erect and his kindly face sending back a greeting to the roar of plaudits that accompanied him at every step. From one end of the line to the other there was an enthusiastic and continuous demonstration that cannot be portrayed. All this loud acclaim, this magnificent welcome, told better than words can of the hearty admiration of the people for the hero of Santiago, the fearless reformer, the wise and brilliant statesman, the Governor of our greatest commonwealth, not more distinguished on account of his high office than for his sturdy virtues, his lofty ideals and noble manhood.

It is said that people are always looking for a hero, someone whom they can idolize and worship. No weak man ever has been, or ever can be, thus enthroned in the hearts of the populace. A

man, to be a hero, must have qualities that lift him above his fellows. He must especially be endowed with courage, that fearless spirit which faces without flinching every danger, whether in battle or public life. He must be born to command; he must be distinguished by achievements which eclipse the dull glory of other men. Roosevelt has climbed to his high position by doing well and by faithfully performing his duty in every line of activity. This is the kind of man the republic is never slow to honor.



CHAPTER XV.

ROOSEVELT'S BRILLIANT ADDRESS IN CHICAGO.

GREAT AND ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION IN THE METROPOLIS OF THE WEST—MEETS A BAND OF ROUGH RIDERS—NOTABLE BANQUET—ADDRESS ON "THE STRENUOUS LIFE"—EXALTED VIEWS OF OUR NATION'S MISSION AND DUTIES—PRINCIPLES THAT LIE AT THE BASIS OF OUR GOVERNMENT—A MASTERLY ORATION ON A MASTERLY THEME—CITIZENS UNITE IN DOING HIM HONOR.

THE fame of the New York Governor extended far beyond the confines of his State. It is hardly a figure of speech to say that people looking from all parts of the Union toward our greatest commonwealth saw Roosevelt. He filled the public eye. Americans are said to know a man when they see him. It needed no effort to convince them that they saw a full-sized man at the Capitol of the Empire State.

By this time the allusions formerly made to his youth and inexperience had ceased. Men who stood high in the councils of his party wished to know what he thought. He was given to thinking, and, in the most docile mood, they were willing to hear his conclusions. The "Silk Stocking" had turned to a leather Knickerbocker, and the youth at whom it was once customary to sneer in a quiet way, was now dictating terms to the men who had almost regarded him as an upstart that really amounted to nothing.

As Governor he was both admired and feared. The "bosses" and others who had been in the habit of informing the people of the State what they wanted in the way of legislation without consulting them, found their occupation gone. Planted squarely in front of them was a Gibraltar. His business at Albany was something more than signing bills passed by a Legislature manipulated by a "machine." As a matter of fact, he made too good a Governor, and the party leaders, thwarted, chagrined and made to keep their proper places, became restive and uneasy. Of what

use was a Governor who was not willing to let somebody else be Governor in his place? It was resolved to ship him off into the Vice-Presidency.

The people of the middle West were among Mr. Roosevelt's ardent admirers and friends. They applauded the man who defied the rulers in his party, held firmly to all the traditions and principles that had made that party great, and maintained its prestige and power. The Hamilton Club of Chicago resolved to give him a reception, and thus bring him into contact with the citizens of the Metropolis of the West. Great preparations were made for the event, and Governor Roosevelt was to be the guest of honor at the Appomattox Day banquet, April 10, 1899. The immense Auditorium was secured for the public meeting.

RUSHES FOR THE ROUGH RIDERS.

The accounts of Governor Roosevelt's arrival in Chicago the day before are somewhat amusing. A large number of the members of the club, wearing badges and serious faces, and deeply impressed with the importance and dignity of the occasion, met him at the railway station. They wanted the proceedings to be conducted with a propriety that would be worthy of the distinguished guest.

Living in Chicago at this time were half a dozen Rough Riders. These had been asked to take an inconspicuous place in the procession that was to escort the Governor to his hotel. As he stepped from his car to the platform he caught sight of these men far in the background, as if they were only insignificant figures among the well-dressed, prominent citizens who were there to meet the guest. They were dressed in faded khaki uniforms of the Volunteer Cavalry, their campaign hats that had been worn in Cuba dusty and soiled, and their faces weather-beaten and scarred. But they were Rough Riders.

Their former commander, with a wave of his hand, motioned them forward, sprang into the crowd to greet them, exclaiming, "How are you, boys?" "Basil, old man, I'm glad to see you," shook them heartily by the hand, invited them over to the Audi-

torium for a visit, and showed by his actions that he was more pleased to meet these old comrades than all the merchant-princes, bankers and millionaires who had assembled to honor him and praise his exploits.

The banquet, which was to commemorate the surrender of the Confederate army and the close of the Civil War, was perhaps the largest ever given in Chicago, a city famous for political conventions and public assemblies.

Governor Roosevelt had announced that he would speak on "The Strenuous Life." He clearly defined his position on the questions of the day, and then followed the line of thought he had marked out. His address was one of the most notable he ever made and should be read by every American citizen. To this end we take pleasure in presenting it here in full :

ON THE LESS STRENUOUS LIFE.

"In speaking to you, men of the greatest city of the West, men of the State which gave to the country Lincoln and Grant, men who preeminently and distinctly embody all that is most American in the American character, I wish to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life ; the life of toil and effort ; of labor and strife ; to preach that highest form of success which comes, not to the man who desires mere easy peace, but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph.

"A life of ignoble ease, a life of that peace which springs merely from lack either of desire or of power to strive after great things, is as little worthy of a nation as of an individual. I ask only that what every self-respecting American demands from himself, and from his sons, shall be demanded of the American nation as a whole. Who among you would teach your boys that ease, that peace is to be the first consideration in their eyes—to be the ultimate goal after which they strive? You men of Chicago have made this city great, you men of Illinois have done your share, and more than your share, in making America great,

because you neither preach nor practice such a doctrine. You work yourselves, and you bring up your sons to work.

"If you are rich and are worth your salt, you will teach your sons that though they may have leisure, it is not to be spent in idleness; for wisely used leisure merely means that those who possess it, being free from the necessity of working for their livelihood, are all the more bound to carry on some kind of non-remunerative work in science, in letters, in art, in exploration, in historical research—work of the type we most need in this country, the successful carrying out of which reflects most honor upon the nation. We do not admire the man of timid peace. We admire the man who embodies victorious effort, the man who never wrongs his neighbor; who is prompt to help a friend; but who has those virile qualities necessary to win in the stern strife of actual life. It is hard to fail; but it is worse never to have tried to succeed.

NOTHING GAINED BUT BY EFFORT.

"In this life we get nothing save by effort. Freedom from effort in the present, merely means that there has been stored up effort in the past. A man can be freed from the necessity of work only by the fact that he or his fathers before him have worked to good purpose. If the freedom thus purchased is used aright, and the man still does actual work, though of a different kind, whether as a writer or a general, whether in the field of politics or in the field of exploration and adventure, he shows he deserves his good fortune.

"But if he treats this period of freedom from the need of actual labor as a period not of preparation, but of mere enjoyment, even though perhaps not of vicious enjoyment, he shows that he is simply a cumberer on the earth's surface; and he surely unfits himself to hold his own with his fellows, if the need to do so should again arise. A mere life of ease is not in the end a very satisfactory life, and, above all, it is a life which ultimately unfits those who follow it for serious work in the world.

"As it is with the individual, so it is with the nation. It is a base untruth to say that happy is the nation that has no his-

tory. Thrice happy is the nation that has a glorious history. Far better is it to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows neither victory nor defeat. If in 1861 the men who loved the Union had believed that peace was the end of all things, and war and strife the worst of all things, and had acted up to their belief, we would have saved hundreds of thousands of lives; we would have saved hundreds of millions of dollars.

THE IRON IN OUR BLOOD.

“Moreover, besides saving all the blood and treasure we then lavished, we would have prevented the heart-break of many women, the dissolution of many homes; and we would have spared the country those months of gloom and shame, when it seemed as if our armies marched only to defeat. We could have avoided all this suffering simply by shrinking from strife. And if we had thus avoided it we would have shown that we were weaklings, and that we were unfit to stand among the great nations of the earth. Thank God for the iron in the blood of our fathers, the men who upheld the wisdom of Lincoln and bore sword or rifle in the armies of Grant!

“Let us, the children of the men who proved themselves equal to the mighty days—let us, the children of the men who carried the great Civil War to a triumphant conclusion, praise the God of our fathers that the ignoble counsels of peace were rejected; that the suffering and loss, the blackness or sorrow and despair, were unflinchingly faced, and the years of strife endured; for in the end the slave was freed, the Union restored, and the mighty American Republic placed once more as a helmeted queen among nations.

“We cannot sit huddled within our own borders and avow ourselves merely an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters who care nothing for what happens beyond. Such a policy would defeat even its own end; for as the nations grow to have ever wider and

wider interests and are brought into closer and closer contact, if we are to hold our own in the struggle for naval and commercial supremacy, we must build up our power without our own borders. We must build the Isthmian canal, and we must grasp the points of vantage which will enable us to have our say in deciding the destiny of the oceans of the East and the West and maintaining our sway over them.

"So much for the commercial side. From the standpoint of international honor the argument is even stronger. The guns that thundered off Manila and Santiago left us echoes of glory, but they also left us a legacy of duty. If we drove out a medieval tyranny only to make room for savage anarchy, we had better not have begun the task at all. It is worse than idle to say that we have no duty to perform and can leave to their fate the islands that we have conquered. Such a course would be the course of infamy. It would be followed at once by utter chaos in the wretched islands themselves. Some stronger, manlier power would have to step in and do the work; and we would have shown ourselves weaklings, unable to carry to successful completion the labors that great and high-spirited nations are eager to undertake.

OUR VAST RESPONSIBILITY.

"The work must be done. We cannot escape our responsibility, and if we are worth our salt, we shall be glad of the chance to do the work—glad of the chance to show ourselves equal to one of the great tasks set modern civilization. But let us not deceive ourselves as to the importance of the task. Let us not be misled by vainglory into underestimating the strain it will put on our powers. Above all, let us, as we value our own self-respect, face the responsibilities with proper seriousness, courage and high resolve.

"We must demand the highest order of integrity and ability in our public men who are to grapple with these new problems. We must hold to a rigid accountability those public servants who show unfaithfulness to the interests of the nation or inability to

rise to the high level of the new demands upon our strength and our resources."

There could be no mistaking the genuine heartiness of the welcome Governor Roosevelt received in Chicago. The city seemed to throb with the splendid demonstration that greeted the Cowboy and the Governor. There was a right good will and cordiality in the attentions he received for which he expressed gratitude in no faltering terms. The occasion was memorable in the history of a city that has always been first to acknowledge true merit and applaud the men who have rendered conspicuous service to their country.



CHAPTER XVI.

ROOSEVELT NOMINATED FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1900—ENTHUSIASM FOR ROOSEVELT—REFUSES NOMINATION FOR VICE-PRESIDENT—COMPELLED TO YIELD TO EMPHATIC DEMAND OF THE DELEGATES—GREAT FUROR OVER HIS NOMINATION—THRILLING EXTRACTS FROM HIS SPEECHES—NOTIFIED OF HIS NOMINATION—HIS REMARKABLE TOUR IN THE CAMPAIGN—ELECTED BY ENORMOUS PLURALITY.

WITH the usual accompaniments of excitement, bustle and enthusiasm the Republican National Convention assembled in Philadelphia, June 19, 1900. From all parts of the country, and even from Hawaii came delegates, and many others, who, although not entitled to seats in the convention, counted themselves among the faithful, and were eager to be present on an occasion of such great moment.

Public men, entitled to be ranked as veterans, and others of more recent celebrity, as well as many would-be statesmen who had not yet blossomed into fame, poured into the railway stations, thronged the streets and hotels, looked with veneration upon the sacred relics and memorials of the historic spot where our nation was born, and formed a part of the surging, shouting throng that crowded the immense building where the convention was held.

This building was said to accommodate 15,000 persons; a more accurate estimate would be 18,000. At a point farthest from the platform, or even much nearer, the voices of the most stentorian speakers could scarcely be heard, and to a large part of the assembled thousands the proceedings of the convention were almost a ludicrous pantomime. The opinion was freely expressed that, as it was really inconvenient to have a convention hall that would take in the entire American people, a building of smaller dimen-

sions and less ambitious in the matter of size, would have been more sensible and better suited to an orderly, dignified assemblage.

Long before the convention was called to order two certainties were plainly apparent. One was that President McKinley would be re-nominated by acclamation; the other was that the nomination for Vice-President might be given to any one of six or eight candidates, each of whom had his friends and supporters. There was the usual number of favorite sons, all of whom were willing, at a sacrifice, to come to the country's rescue and accept the office next to the highest in the gift of the people. And so there was wire-pulling, electioneering, formations of cliques and combinations, and hurrying to and fro to convince delegates from the various other States and obtain pledges. It was not surmised at the time that all these plans, so nicely laid, would be blown away like chaff before the wind by the magic of one name that possessed an irresistible power.

LARGER THAN HIS STATE.

When Mr. Roosevelt arrived on the ground his presence had more meaning than that of any other man. He was Governor of New York, but was larger than his State. No territorial limits could bound and circumscribe the man. Neither Senator Wolcott with his fervid oratory, nor Depew with his brilliant wit and rounded periods, nor Lodge with his intellectual acuteness, nor Thurston or Fairbanks with their superb rhetoric, nor Secretary Long with his grand record, nor sturdy old Mark Hanna with his practical sense, counted for so much as the Rough Rider who stormed the hill of San Juan. An expression of popular sentiment in favor of Roosevelt from all parts of the country, especially the Middle West and West, came rushing in like the waves of the sea.

There were those who would have been willing to place his name first on the ticket, but he was too loyal to his chief to tolerate such a proceeding. Besides, he had some projects which, as Governor of New York, he wished to carry into effect, and he honestly felt that he could serve his party in no other way so well

as to seek a re-election as Governor, and continue the good work he had begun in the Empire State. He stubbornly refused at first to listen to the proposition to place his name on the national ticket, and was a good deal annoyed at the persistent clamor of those delegates who would not take no for an answer.

The party leaders were not ignorant of his phenomenal popularity. It was evident on the surface of political affairs and below the surface. They could not hide or ignore it. It knocked at their very doors; it thrust itself upon them at every turn. They wanted a running mate for McKinley who would not be a drag upon him, a man who would add strength to the ticket. The two shrewdest politicians in the United States, Senators Platt and Quay, favored his nomination after they had carefully looked over the situation. He was too independent and headstrong to nod his subservience to any political "boss," and it was thought the Vice-Presidency would be a comfortable, easy berth for him where he would be harmless.

HUNTING FOR A CANDIDATE.

There were day conferences, evening conferences; and midnight conferences to canvass the merits of the available candidates, but there was no escaping the fact that the Roosevelt sentiment was in the very air, and with all his firmness he had no power to resist it.

Speaking of the nomination of some Vice-Presidential candidates previous to 1896, he said: "It will be noticed that most of these evils arise from the fact that the Vice-President, under ordinary circumstances, possesses so little real power. He presides over the Senate, and he has in Washington a position of marked social importance; but his political weight as Vice-President is almost *nil*. There is always a chance that he may become President. As this is only a chance it seems quite impossible to persuade politicians to give it the proper weight. This certainly does not seem right. The Vice-President should, so far as possible, represent the same views and principles that have secured the nomination and election of the President; and he should be a man

trusted and able in the event of any accident to his chief, to take up the work of the latter just where it was left."

When these words were spoken Mr. Roosevelt did not dream that he would ever be one who, by holding the office of Vice-President, would have a chance to become President, and this view of the Vice-Presidency he held consistently at the very time when he was nominated at Philadelphia. That he thrust himself out of consideration and accepted the nomination against his own wishes and better judgment, is ample proof of his deference to the will of the people. It was not a question with him as to what he wished, but what the public wanted. He was a patriot when he drew his sword and led his brave regiment at Santiago; he was no less a patriot when he consented to accept an office that he did not want.

BEGINS WITH A BRILLIANT PARADE.

The convention began its sessions, June 19th, in Philadelphia. On the evening of the 18th there was a brilliant parade of 25,000 Republicans, comprising the Allied Clubs of Philadelphia, and various Republican organizations from near and distant cities, that had arrived to attend the convention. The route of the parade was made brilliant by colored lights, waving flags and bands playing patriotic music. On Tuesday, the 19th, Convention Hall took on an animated appearance about 11 o'clock, when the seats surrounding the enclosure reserved for the delegates began to fill up. The delegates began arriving early, those from the Western and Southern States being the first to put in an appearance. A notable feature in the gathering of the delegates was the very orderly way in which the majority found their seats.

Governor Roosevelt, Senator Depew, and National Chairman Hanna walked down the central aisle just at the noon hour, and were by far the leading characters of the gathering celebrities. Cheer after cheer rolled out over the great hall for Roosevelt, who found his chair close by Senator Platt. Mr. Depew stood aside to allow Hanna to pass, and then took his place with the New Yorkers, sitting down with Roosevelt and Senator Brackitt of Saratoga.

Everybody in the hall rose en masse to greet the Rough Rider. The arrival of Governor Roosevelt was the occasion of the first lively scene in the hall. Instantly the Governor was recognized and a cheer went up which continued until the Rough Rider reached his seat. People stood on chairs and craned their necks to catch a glimpse of the man who was believed to be the choice of the convention for Vice-President.

The interest of the convention and that of the public centred in the proceedings of the third day. The preliminaries, including organization, adopting the platform and listening to laudations of the party and its splendid achievements, occupied the first two days, and it only remained to make the nominations. On the morning of the third day, long before 10 o'clock, the hour set for the reassembling of the convention, the hall was surrounded by an immense army of people, who besieged all the doors and entrances, clamoring for admission. When the doors were opened they surged like a flood submerging the vast hall.

STAGE A BIG BOUQUET.

The stage had been freshened with green things, and at each corner, like a touch of flaming color, red peonies shot into the air. The band in the north gallery was at work early with inspiring music. It was much warmer than on preceding days. The sun blazed down through the space in the roof and the heat gave promise of being oppressive. But the ladies were attired in their thinnest muslins, everybody was provided with a fan, and there was no complaint. One old fellow in the gallery, with charming disregard of the proprieties, divested himself of coat and vest, hung them over the rail, and took his seat.

Three minutes before 10 o'clock the Kansas delegation, headed by Colonel Barton, with bright silk sunflowers pinned to their lapels, aroused the first enthusiasm as they marched down the main aisle bearing a white banner inscribed in big black letters with the words "Kansas is for Roosevelt." As the delegates debouched into the pit the utmost good nature was manifested. The contest was over. It was to be a love feast, a jubilee,

and not a contest, which the day was to witness. Governor Roosevelt entered at exactly 10 o'clock. He made a rush for his seat, but he did not escape the keen eye of the thousands, and they set up a cheer at sight of him.

One of the questions, as already stated, that agitated the convention from the start was, who should be the candidate for Vice-President. There was a strong, unanimous feeling in favor of Governor Roosevelt, of New York, but he repeatedly expressed his wish to have some other man selected, as he wished to be the nominee for Governor of the Empire State, and believed that in this capacity he could best serve the interests of the party at large.

MANY CONFLICTING REPORTS.

It was reported that the Administration at Washington had preferences for certain men. This again was contradicted, and there were so many conflicting reports that on the evening of the second day of the convention Senator Hanna, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, issued the following statement :

"The Administration has had no candidate for Vice-President. It has not been for or against any candidate. It has deemed that the convention should select the candidate, and that has been my position throughout. It has been a free field for all. In these circumstances several eminent Republicans have been proposed ; all of them distinguished men, with many friends. I will now say that on behalf of all of those candidates, and I except none, I have within the last twelve hours been asked to give my advice. After consulting with as many delegates as possible in the time within my disposal, I have concluded to accept the responsibility involved in this request. In the present situation, with the strong and earnest sentiment of the delegates from all parts of the country for Governor Roosevelt, and since President McKinley is to be nominated without a dissenting voice, it is my judgment that Governor Roosevelt should be nominated for Vice-President with the same unanimity."

This announcement of Senator Hanna was made after a long consultation with many leaders of the party. He called the newspaper men into one of the rooms where the consultation had taken place and read from manuscript. The effect of this statement was to cause instant and unanimous agreement among the delegates for Roosevelt.

Senator Foraker's nomination of President McKinley for a second term was a prelude to a thunderous storm of acclamations, which continued for upward of ten minutes, and it was fully fifteen minutes before the applause had so far subsided as to permit Governor Roosevelt to take the platform and second the nomination. Every noise that the human voice is capable of producing entered into the uproar—cheers, shrill and guttural and deep; delirious ejaculations, born of excitement and nervousness, and that could never be made under ordinary pressure.

MAGNIFICENT OVATION.

When the only Vice-Presidential candidate, erect and burly of form and spectacled, rose briskly from his seat, it was the signal for more applause, which culminated in a magnificent ovation as, straight as an arrow, with head thrown back and shoulders squared as if on dress parade, the hero of San Juan faced the delegates and spectators to reinforce the arguments made by Foraker why William McKinley should be renominated. Having finally secured the attention of the Convention after many deprecating waves of his right hand, New York's chief executive proceeded to demonstrate that the Republican party had made no mistake in uniting upon him for second place on the ticket. The Rough Rider's seconding speech was a masterful exhibition of mental, grammatical and physical virility. Roosevelt struck out straight from the shoulder, landing many blows calculated to jar the Democratic party. He went to the very core of the great questions of the day with a directness that delighted his hearers.

He closed his virile, masterly speech, seconding the nomination of McKinley, as follows :

"We stand on the threshold of a new century, a century big

with the fate of the great nations of the earth. It rests with us now to decide whether, in the opening years of that century, we shall march forward to fresh triumphs, or whether, at the outset, we shall deliberately cripple ourselves for the contest. Is America a weakling, to shrink from the world work that must be done by the world powers? No. The young giant of the West stands on a continent that clasps the crest of an ocean in either hand. Our nation, glorious in youth and strength, looks into the future with fearless and eager eyes, and rejoices as a strong man to run a race. We do not stand in craven mood, asking to be spared the task, cringing as we gaze on the contest. No. We challenge the proud privilege of doing the work that Providence allots us, and we face the coming years high of heart and resolute of faith that to our people is given the right to win such honor and renown as has never yet been granted to the peoples of mankind."

ROOSEVELT PUT IN NOMINATION.

The furor over the nomination of McKinley having subsided, the next in order was the nomination of Roosevelt for Vice-President. Senator Depew, of New York, had been selected for this purpose. The favor with which he was regarded by the immense assemblage was shown in the loud calls that brought him to the platform. He was in his happiest mood. His speech, brimming over with eloquent passages, spicy sayings and powerful appeals, was like an explosion of fireworks, and kept the multitude in constant excitement and hilarity, which was evidenced by loud and repeated cheers and acclamations. The enthusiasm for the hero of Santiago was at fever heat and no attempt was made to suppress it.

The speech closed as follows: "We have the best ticket ever presented. (Applause.) We have at the head of it a Western man with Eastern notions, and we have at the other end an Eastern man with Western character. (Loud applause.) The statesman and the cowboy. The accomplished man of affairs and the heroic fighter. The man who has proved great as President, and the fighter who has proved great as Governor. (Applause.) We leave

this old town simply to keep on shouting and working to make it unanimous for McKinley and Roosevelt."

When the roll of States was called, it is needless to say every delegate voted for Roosevelt with one exception, and that was himself. A demonstration of the wildest and most enthusiastic character, and lasting half an hour, followed the announcement that Roosevelt was the nominee for Vice-President. Palms were waved, the standards of the various delegations were hurried to the platform, the band attempted to make itself heard amid the loud acclaim, processions of excited, cheering delegates marched up and down the aisles, the building rang with shouts and the popular New York Governor was congratulated by as many as could get within reach of him.

OFFICIALLY NOTIFIED OF NOMINATION.

Governor Roosevelt was officially notified of his nomination for the Vice-Presidency at his country home, Sagamore, near Oyster Bay. Shortly after 12 o'clock Senator Wolcott called the committee to the porch. There in the cool shade of the awnings and vines he read the formal notification in his clear and resonant voice. When Senator Wolcott concluded Governor Roosevelt stepped a pace forward and replied. His voice was clear and firm, and as he proceeded there were numerous interruptions of applause. He said:

"Mr. Chairman:—I accept the honor conferred upon me with the keenest and deepest appreciation of what it means, and above all of the responsibility that goes with it. Everything that it is in my power to do will be done to secure the re-election of President McKinley, to whom it has been given in this crisis of the national history to stand for and embody the principles which lie closest to the heart of every American worthy of the name.

"This is very much more than a mere party contest. We stand at the parting of the ways, and the people have now to decide whether they shall go forward along the path of prosperity and high honor abroad, or whether they will turn their backs upon what has been done during the past three years; whether they

will plunge this country into an abyss of misery and disaster, or what is worse than even misery and disaster—shame.

"I feel that we have a right to appeal not merely to Republicans, but to all good citizens, no matter what may have been their party affiliations in the past, and to ask them on the strength of the record that President McKinley has made during the past three years, and on the strength of the threat implied in what was done at Kansas City a few days ago, to stand shoulder to shoulder with us, perpetuating the conditions under which we have reached a degree of prosperity never before attained in the nation's history and under which, abroad, we have put the American flag on a level where it never before in the history of the country has been placed.

A FIGHT FOR THE HONOR OF THE FLAG.

"For these reasons I feel we have a right to look forward with confident expectation to what the verdict of the people will be next November, and to ask all men to whom the well being of the country and the honor of the national name are dear, to stand with us as we fight for prosperity at home and the honor of the flag abroad."

A round of applause broke out as the Governor concluded but he checked it instantly by saying:

"Gentlemen, one moment, please. Here, Ned," he cried to Senator Wolcott, "this is not to the national committee, but I want to say this to my friends. Friends of my own State who are here, just let me say how I appreciate seeing so many of you here to-day. I want to say I am more than honored and pleased at having been made a candidate for Vice-President on the national ticket, but you cannot imagine how badly I feel at leaving the men with whom I have endeavored and worked for civic decency and righteousness and honesty in New York."

Mr. Roosevelt entered, heart and soul, into the campaign that followed his nomination. He was the one "spell-binder" who was in demand. The whole country wished to see and hear him. With a special train he traversed many States, faced millions of

people, delivered speeches in wigwams and public halls, and from the rear end of his car addressed the multitudes who gathered wherever it was known he was to make a stop. He proved himself to be a most effective campaign orator, as he had done before, and his personal efforts largely aided in securing the overwhelming plurality by which he and McKinley were elected.

His manner on the stump was hearty and cordial. His talks were plain, forcible, evidently sincere, and infused with good old-fashioned commonsense. He spoke because he had something worth saying. He did not come before people as a ranter, or a politician. Lofty views of American citizenship and the duties of every American toward his country, pervaded all his public utterances. His trip through the States, was like a triumphal progress, and the same enthusiasm that aroused the National Convention at the name of "Teddy" greeted him everywhere.



CHAPTER XVII.

SUDDENLY CALLED TO BE PRESIDENT.

SECURES THE PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE—DOUBTS SOON DISPELLED—
SWORN IN AS PRESIDENT—FIRST OFFICIAL ACTS—REQUESTS
THE MEMBERS OF THE CABINET TO RETAIN OFFICE—PATHETIC
SCENES AT BUFFALO — NEW PRESIDENT TO CONTINUE THE
POLICY OF HIS PREDECESSOR—AN ESTIMATE OF HIS CHARACTER
AND ABILITY—ENCOUNTERS AT THE OUTSET GRAVE POLITICAL
PROBLEMS—VIEWS CONCERNING CUBA AND THE PHILIPPINES.

THE appalling tragedy that ended the life of President McKinley, at the very summit of his fame and usefulness, summoned Mr. Roosevelt to the Presidency of the United States. It was a dark day for our country when the fatal shot was fired that struck down a President who was universally admired and beloved, and who, it was fondly thought, had not an enemy on earth.

Instantly the nation turned to his successor with a feeling both of relief and apprehension. The vast responsibility and the call for the wisest statesmanship suddenly thrust upon him, and the fact that he was now to guide the destinies of the republic, caused grave fears in the minds of thoughtful people, and an anxiety which, under the circumstances, was but natural and inevitable. At the same time, his public record was such as to go far toward creating the utmost confidence in his ability to cope with the sudden and extraordinary crisis. No one doubted the purity of his intentions, the honesty of his convictions, or his conscientious purpose to make good the loss sustained by the country, and to carry forward the policies advocated by his predecessor.

Although some vague doubts were expressed, and men questioned one another as to whether Mr. Roosevelt would prove equal to the emergency, there were no signs of panic in the world of

finance, or slowing up of the wheels of industry. With a self-confidence which has often been ridiculed as Yankee boasting, it was believed the country could take care of itself, and its new chief executive would superbly meet every demand. Public opinion was soon enlisted in his support, the timid ones were reassured, and the overwhelming sorrow and sense of bereavement that followed the assassination of one President gradually gave way to a feeling of thankfulness that another so competent and trustworthy was now at the head of our national affairs.

HOPES SUDDENLY BLASTED.

The mournful event that placed Mr. Roosevelt in the White House was as unexpected by him as it was by the nation at large. The crack of the assassin's pistol rang through the whole world with startling effect. No one was prepared for the thrilling tragedy. As is well known, hopes were entertained for President McKinley's recovery. For a whole week his condition was reported by the attending physicians as perfectly satisfactory, and there was every indication that his wound would not prove fatal. The bulletins expressed a hope that amounted almost to a certainty, and stated only a short time before his death, that all danger was past. The bullet had not been extracted, but the illustrious patient's symptoms and general condition gave every promise of complete recovery.

Then came the sudden change for the worse. The ghastly reaper who strikes down rulers and peasants alike, with unpitying celerity made sure of his victim. Hope went out in darkness and delusive promises were mercilessly broken. The civilized world felt the shock. It was a time for awe and silence.

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt was sworn in as President of the United States at 3.36 o'clock on the afternoon of Saturday, September 14th. Standing in a low-ceiled, narrow room in the quaint old mansion occupied by Ansley Wilcox, in the fashionable part of Delaware Avenue, the aristocratic thoroughfare of Buffalo, Mr. Roosevelt swore to administer the laws of the Government of which he is now the head. He stood erect, holding his right

hand high above his head. His massive shoulders were thrown well back, as, with his head inclined a little forward, he repeated the form of the oath of office in clear, distinct tones, that fell impressively upon the ears of the forty-three persons grouped about the room.

His face was a study in earnestness and determination, as he uttered the words which made him President of the United States. His face was much paler than it was wont to be, and his eyes, though bright and steady, gleamed mistily through his big-bowed gold spectacles. His attire was sombre and modest. A well-fitting worsted frock coat draped his athletic figure almost to the knees. His trousers were dark gray, with pinstripes. A thin skein of golden chain looped from the two lower pockets of his waistcoat. While he was waiting for the ceremony he toyed with this chain with his right hand.

PICTURESQUE LITTLE ROOM.

The place selected for the ceremony of taking the oath was the library of Mr. Wilcox's house, a rather small room, but picturesque, the heavy oak trimmings and the massive bookcases giving it somewhat the appearance of a legal den. A pretty bay window with stained glass and heavy hangings formed a background, and against this the President took his position.

Judge Hazel stood near the President in the bay window, and the latter showed his extreme nervousness by plucking at the lapel of his long frock coat and nervously tapping the hardwood floor with his heel. He stepped over once to Secretary Root, and for about five minutes they conversed earnestly. The question at issue was whether the President should first sign an oath of office and then swear in or whether he should swear in first and sign the document in the case after.

At precisely 3.32 o'clock Secretary Root ceased his conversation with the President, and, stepping back, while an absolute hush fell upon every one in the room, said in an almost inaudible voice:

"Mr. Vice-President, I——" Then his voice broke, and for fully two minutes the tears came down his face and his lips quiv-

ered, so that he could not continue his utterances. There were sympathetic tears from those about him, and two great drops ran down either cheek of the successor of William McKinley. Mr. Root's chin was on his breast. Suddenly throwing back his head, as if with an effort, he continued in broken voice :

"I have been requested, on behalf of the Cabinet of the late President, at least those who are present in Buffalo, all except two, to request that for reasons of weight affecting the affairs of government, you should proceed to take the constitutional oath of office of President of the United States."

Judge Hazel had stepped to the rear of the President, and Mr. Roosevelt, coming closer to Secretary Root, said, in a voice that at first wavered, but finally came deep and strong, while, as if to control his nervousness, he held firmly to the lapel of his coat with his right hand :

M'KINLEY'S POLICIES TO BE CONTINUED.

"I shall take the oath at once in accordance with your request, and in this hour of deep and terrible national bereavement I wish to state that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace and prosperity and honor of our beloved country."

The President stepped farther into the bay window, and Judge Hazel, taking up the constitutional oath of office, which had been prepared on parchment, asked the President to raise his right hand and repeat it after him. There was a hush like death in the room as the Judge read a few words at a time, and the President, in a strong voice and without a tremor, and with his raised hand as steady as if carved from marble, repeated it after him.

"And thus I swear," he ended it. The hand dropped by his side, the chin for an instant rested on the breast, and the silence remained unbroken for a couple of minutes, as though the new President of the United States was offering silent prayer for help and guidance.

Judge Hazel broke the silence, saying: "Mr. President, please attach your signature." And the President, turning to a

small table near-by, wrote "Theodore Roosevelt" at the bottom of the document in a firm hand.

"I should like to see the members of the Cabinet a few moments after the others retire," said the President, and this was the signal for the score of the people, who had been favored by witnessing the ceremony, to retire.

As they turned to go the President said: "I will shake hands with you people, gladly," and, with something of his old smile returning, he first shook hands with the members of the Cabinet present, then Senator Depew and finally with a few guests and newspaper men.

MEMBERS OF CABINET REMAIN.

At a meeting of the Cabinet in the afternoon, President Roosevelt requested that the members retain their positions, at least for the present, and they promised that they would do so. He also received assurances that Secretaries Hay and Gage, who were absent, would remain for the time being. The first official act of President Roosevelt was the issuing of the following proclamation, the appropriateness and felicitous expression of which could not be improved.

"By the President of the United States of America, a proclamation :

"A terrible bereavement has befallen our people. The President of the United States has been struck down ; a crime committed not only against the Chief Magistrate, but against every law-abiding and liberty-loving citizen.

"President McKinley crowned a life of largest love for his fellowmen, of most earnest endeavor for their welfare, by a death of Christian fortitude ; and both the way in which he lived his life and the way in which, in the supreme hour of trial, he met his death, will remain forever a precious heritage of our people.

"It is meet that we, as a nation, express our abiding love and reverence for his life, our deep sorrow for his untimely death.

"Now, therefore, I, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, do appoint Thursday next, September

19, the day in which the body of the dead President will be laid in its last earthly resting place, as a day of mourning and prayer throughout the United States. I earnestly recommend all the people to assemble in their respective places of divine worship, there to bow down in submission to the will of Almighty God, and to pay out of full hearts their homage of love and reverence to the great and good President, whose death has smitten the nation with bitter grief.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington, the 14th day of September, A. D., one thousand nine hundred and one, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and twenty-sixth.

"(SEAL.) THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"By the President,

"JOHN HAY, Secretary of State."

ILLUSTRIOUS EXAMPLE BEFORE HIM.

Two things contributed to enthrone Mr. Roosevelt in the respect and confidence of the nation; one was his expressed resolve to continue absolutely unbroken the policy that President McKinley had followed on all public questions; the other was his endeavor to retain in office all the members of the Cabinet. Mr. Roosevelt was in full accord with President McKinley and considered him an excellent example to follow. He made several appointments in instances where McKinley had expressed his intention to make them, but had not reached the formal announcement at the time of his death. In short, whatever was understood to have been the declared intentions of the Chief Executive whose untimely death had fallen with crushing weight upon the people, these plans and purposes the new President earnestly tried to fulfill.

Thus he kept his sacred pledge, publicly given when he took the oath of office. Yet it soon became apparent that he had definite views and policies of his own. He urged these upon the Cabinet and Congress with such masterly ability as to silence every doubt

of his pre-eminent fitness for the high position to which he had been so unexpectedly called. He grew rapidly in public esteem, and although he was acknowledged to be a positive and independent character, it was not considered likely that he would make any serious mistakes.

The problems that confronted Mr. Roosevelt when he entered the White House were both grave and perplexing. Our country had assumed certain obligations toward Cuba, the intention of which was to help establish a stable form of government on the island, with such reciprocal laws of trade as would be beneficial for both parties concerned. What should be done for Cuba, was one of the questions that had enlisted the earnest thought and sympathies of President McKinley, and now came as a legacy to his successor. President Roosevelt held that our country was under a clear and undeniable moral obligation toward Cuba, to violate which would impugn our national honor and sense of justice.

RELIEF FOR CUBA HALTED.

Measures for the relief of Cuba were halted in Congress with a stubbornness that could not be justified, and could be understood only on the theory of selfish interference on the part of powerful trusts and moneyed interests, to which honor is nothing and profits are everything. President Roosevelt proved conclusively that he meant his own action to be right, even if the whole country were wrong. But the country approved his measures, stood back of him resolutely, and applauded all his efforts to keep every pledge implied in our dealings with the Cuban people.

What should be done with the Philippines, was another perplexing question encountered by President Roosevelt on the threshold of his career as the head of the nation. He took advanced ground against the reactionists in and out of Congress who were in sympathy with the insurgents in the Philippines. He boldly asserted that where our flag had been planted, there it must stay, that, it was contrary to all our traditions to haul down

the Stars and Stripes and confess defeat. The men who secretly and openly plotted against our policy toward the Philippines, that became a part of our possessions in the war with Spain and for the peace and good government of which we were responsible, were really the enemies of our government, and deserved the rebuke of every patriotic American.

Such were the views of President Roosevelt, so clearly pronounced, so ably stated and defended, so just and honorable, and so buttressed by the statemanship of common sense, that they met a hearty response from a vast majority of the people, who confided in his judgment and were ready to believe he was equal to every public emergency, and capable of solving each new problem as it presented itself.



CHAPTER XVIII.

GRAPPLED WITH THE NATION'S PROBLEMS.

VIEWS ON ANARCHY—STRONG WORDS ADDRESSED TO CONGRESS—
—HATRED OF ASSASSINS—MCKINLEY'S DIABOLICAL DEATH—
PUNISHMENT FOR MURDEROUS CRIMINALS—INFAMY THAT
WOULD SHAME JUDAS—BLOW AT HONEST LABOR—RECOM-
MENDATIONS TO CONGRESS—VIEWS ON TRUSTS—CAPTAINS OF
INDUSTRY—RULE OF NATIONAL LIFE—EVIL OF OVER CAP-
ITALIZATION.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT at once took up the problems confronting the nation. The public mind was thoroughly aroused and indignant on account of the dastardly assassination of President McKinley. It was believed by thoughtful men that more stringent laws should be enacted against the lawless horde emptied on our shores from the slums of old countries; whose secret aim was the destruction of all government.

In his first message to Congress the President entered into a bold and earnest discussion of this subject and expressed his ideas and convictions as follows :

"On the 6th of September President McKinley was shot by an anarchist while attending the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, and died in that city on the 14th of that month.

"Of the last seven elected Presidents he is the third who has been murdered, and the bare recital of this fact is sufficient to justify grave alarm among all loyal American citizens. Moreover, the circumstances of this, the third assassination of an American President, have a peculiarly sinister significance. Both President Lincoln and President Garfield were killed by assassins of types unfortunately not uncommon in history; President Lincoln falling a victim to the terrible passions aroused by four years of civil war, and President Garfield to the revengeful vanity of a disappointed office-seeker.

"President McKinley was killed by an utterly depraved criminal belonging to that body of criminals who object to all governments, good and bad alike, who are against any form of popular liberty if it is guaranteed by even the most just and liberal laws, and who are as hostile to the upright exponent of a free people's sober will as to the tyrannical and irresponsible despot.

"It is not too much to say that at the time of President McKinley's death he was the most widely loved man in all the United States ; while we have never had any public man of his position who has been so wholly free from the bitter animosities incident to public life. His political opponents were the first to bear the heartiest and most generous tribute to the broad kindliness of nature, the sweetness and gentleness of character which so endeared him to his close associates.

HIS INTEGRITY AND HOME VIRTUES.

"To a standard of lofty integrity in public life he united the tender affections and home virtues which are all-important in the make-up of national character. A gallant soldier in the great war for the Union, he also shone as an example to all our people because of his conduct in the most sacred and intimate of home relations.

"There could be no personal hatred of him, for he never acted with aught but consideration for the welfare of others. No one could fail to respect him who knew him in public or private life. The defenders of those murderous criminals who seek to excuse their criminality by asserting that it is exercised for political ends, inveigh against wealth and irresponsible power. But for this assassination even this base apology can not be urged.

"President McKinley was a man of moderate means, a man whose stock sprang from the sturdy tillers of the soil, who had himself belonged among the wage-workers, who had entered the Army as a private soldier. Wealth was not struck at when the President was assassinated, but the honest toil which is content

with moderate gains after a lifetime of unremitting labor, largely in the service of the public.

"Still less was power struck at in the sense that power is irresponsible or centered in the hands of any one individual. The blow was not aimed at tyranny or wealth. It was aimed at one the strongest champions the wage-worker has ever had; at one of the most faithful representatives of the system of public rights and representative government who has ever risen to public office.

"President McKinley filled that political office for which the entire people vote, and no President—not even Lincoln himself—was ever more earnestly anxious to represent the well thought-out wishes of the people; his one anxiety in every crisis was to keep in closest touch with the people—to find out what they thought and to endeavor to give expression to their thought, after having endeavored to guide that thought aright.

FRIEND TO THE LABORING PEOPLE.

"He had just been re-elected to the Presidency because the majority of our citizens, the majority of our farmers and wage-workers, believed that he had faithfully upheld their interests for four years. They felt themselves in close and intimate touch with him. They felt that he represented so well and so honorably all their ideals and aspirations that they wished him to continue for another four years to represent them.

"And this was the man at whom the assassin struck! That there might be nothing lacking to complete the Judas-like infamy of his act, he took advantage of an occasion when the President was meeting the people generally; and advancing as if to take the hand outstretched to him in kindly and brotherly fellowship, he turned the noble and generous confidence of the victim into an opportunity to strike the fatal blow. There is no baser deed in all the annals of crime.

"The shock, the grief of the country are bitter in the minds of all who saw the dark days while the President yet hovered between life and death. At last the light was stilled in the

kindly eyes and the breadth went from the lips that even in mortal agony uttered no words save of forgiveness to his murderer, of love for his friends, and of unfaltering trust in the will of the Most High.

"Such a death, crowning the glory of such a life, leaves us with infinite sorrow, but with such pride in what he had accomplished and in his own personal character, that we feel the blow not as struck at him, but as struck at the nation. We mourn a good and great President who is dead; but while we mourn we are lifted up by the splendid achievements of his life and the grand heroism with which he met his death.

"When we turn from the man to the nation, the harm done is so great as to excite our gravest apprehension and to demand our wisest and most resolute action. This criminal was a professed anarchist, inflamed by the teachings of professed anarchists, and probably also by the reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and in the public press, appeal to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and sullen hatred.

THE WIND AND WHIRLWIND.

"The wind is sowed by the men who preach such doctrines, and they can not escape their share of responsibility for the whirlwind that is reaped. This applies alike to the deliberate demagogue, to the exploiter of sensationalism, and to the crude and foolish visionary who, for whatever reason, apologizes for crime or excites aimless discontent.

"The blow was aimed not at this President, but at all Presidents; at every symbol of government. President McKinley was as emphatically the embodiment of the popular will of the nation, expressed through the forms of law, as a New England town meeting is in similar fashion the embodiment of the law-abiding purpose and practice of the people of the town.

"On no conceivable theory could the murder of the President be accepted as due to protest against 'inequalities in the social order,' save as the murder of all the freemen engaged in a town meeting could be accepted as a protest against that social

inequality which puts a malefactor in jail. Anarchy is no more an expression of 'social discontent,' than picking pockets or wife-beating.

"The anarchist, and especially the anarchist in the United States, is merely one type of criminal more dangerous than any other, because he represents the same depravity in a greater degree. The man who advocates anarchy, directly or indirectly, in any shape or fashion, or the man who apologizes for anarchists and their deeds, makes himself morally accessory to murder before the fact.

"The anarchist is a criminal whose perverted instincts lead him to prefer confusion and chaos to the most beneficent form of social order. His protest of concern for workingmen is outrageous in its impudent falsity; for if the political institutions of this country do not afford opportunity to every honest and intelligent son of toil, then the door of hope is forever closed against him. The anarchist is everywhere not merely the enemy of system and of progress, but the deadly foe of liberty. If ever anarchy is triumphant, its triumph will last for but one red moment, to be succeeded for ages by the gloomy night of despotism.

THE ANARCHIST A MURDERER.

"For the anarchist himself, whether he preaches or practices his doctrines, we need not have one particle more concern than for any ordinary murderer. He is not the victim of social or political injustice. There are no wrongs to remedy in his case. The cause of his criminality is to be found in his own evil passions and in the evil conduct of those who urge him on, not in any failure by others or by the State to do justice to him or his. He is a malefactor and nothing else.

"He is in no sense, in no shape or way, a 'product of social conditions,' save as a highwayman is 'produced' by the fact that an unarmed man happens to have a purse. It is a travesty upon the great and holy names of liberty and freedom to permit them to be invoked in such a cause. No man or body of men preaching anarchistic doctrines should be allowed at large any more than if

preaching the murder of some specified private individual. Anarchistic speeches, writings and meetings are essentially seditious and treasonable.

"I earnestly recommend to the Congress that in the exercise of its wise discretion it should take into consideration the coming to this country of anarchists or persons professing principles hostile to all government and justifying the murder of those placed in authority. Such individuals as those who not long ago gathered in open meeting to glorify the murder of King Humbert of Italy perpetrate a crime and the law should insure their rigorous punishment.

SHOULD BE KEPT OUT OF THE COUNTRY.

"They and those like them should be kept out of this country; and if found here they should be promptly deported to the country whence they came; and far-reaching provision should be made for the punishment of those who stay. No matter calls more urgently for the wisest thought of the Congress.

"The Federal courts should be given jurisdiction over any man who kills or attempts to kill the President or any man who, by the Constitution or by law, is in line of succession for the Presidency, while the punishment for an unsuccessful attempt should be proportioned to the enormity of the offense against our institutions.

"Anarchy is a crime against the whole human race; and all mankind should band against the anarchist. His crime should be made an offense against the law of nations, like piracy and that form of manstealing known as the slave trade; for it is of far blacker infamy than either. It should be so declared by treaties among all civilized powers. Such treaties would give to the Federal Government the power of dealing with the crime.

"A grim commentary upon the folly of the anarchist position was afforded by the attitude of the law toward this very criminal who had just taken the life of the President. The people would have torn him limb from limb if it had not been that the law he defied was at once invoked in his behalf. So far from his deed

being committed on behalf of the people against the Government, the Government was obliged at once to exert its full police power to save him from instant death at the hands of the people.

"Moreover, his deed worked not the slightest dislocation in our governmental system, and the danger of a recurrence of such deeds, no matter how great it might grow, would work only in the direction of strengthening and giving harshness to the forces of order. No man will ever be restrained from becoming President by any fear as to his personal safety. If the risk to the President's life became great, it would mean that the office would more and more come to be filled by men of a spirit which would make them resolute and merciless in dealing with every friend of disorder.

AMERICAN PEOPLE SLOW TO WRATH.

"This great country will not fall into anarchy, and if anarchists should ever become a serious menace to its institutions, they would not merely be stamped out, but would involve in their own ruin every active or passive sympathizer with their doctrines. The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is once kindled it burns like a consuming flame."

Congress took up the President's recommendations and the Committee on Judiciary of the House, after considering many bills that had been introduced, reported a committee bill designed to punish those who attempt the life of the President. That bill passed the House, was amended, and passed by the Senate late in the session. It failed to go to the President for his signature before Congress adjourned because of the absence of Senator Hoar and of the conferees on the part of the Senate.

President Roosevelt's discussion of the trust question in his first message to the Fifty-seventh Congress was conservative, but fearless. He did not arraign the trusts as wholly bad, but conceded that they were a part of the industrial development of this country as they were of the industrial development throughout the civilized world. He said:

"The tremendous and highly complex industrial development which went on with ever accelerated rapidity during the latter

half of the nineteenth century brings us face to face, at the beginning of the twentieth, with very serious social problems. The old laws, and the old customs which had almost the binding force of law, were once quite sufficient to regulate the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Since the industrial changes which have so enormously increased the productive power of mankind, they are no longer sufficient.

"The growth of cities has gone on beyond comparison faster than the growth of the country, and the upbuilding of the great industrial centers has meant a startling increase, not merely in the aggregate of wealth, but in the number of very large individual, and especially of very large corporate, fortunes. The creation of these great corporate fortunes has not been due to the tariff, nor to any other governmental action, but to natural causes in the business world, operating in other countries as they operate in our own.

ANTAGONISM WITHOUT WARRANT.

"The process has aroused much antagonism, a great part of which is wholly without warrant. It is not true that as the rich have grown richer the poor have grown poorer. On the contrary, never before has the average man, the wage-worker, the farmer, the small trader, been so well off as in this country and at the present time.

"There have been abuses connected with the accumulation of wealth; yet it remains true that a fortune accumulated in legitimate business can be accumulated by the person specially benefited only on condition of conferring immense incidental benefits upon others. Successful enterprise, of the type which benefits all mankind, can only exist if the conditions are such as to offer great prizes as the rewards of success.

"The captains of industry, who have driven the railway systems across this continent, who have built up our commerce, who have developed our manufactures, have on the whole done great good to our people. Without them the material development of which we are so justly proud could never have taken place.

Moreover, we should recognize the immense importance to this material development of leaving as unhampered as is compatible with the public good the strong and forceful men upon whom the success of business operations inevitably rests.

"The slightest study of business conditions will satisfy anyone capable of forming a judgment that the personal equation is the most important factor in a business operation; that the business ability of the man at the head of any business concern, big or little, is usually the factor which fixes the gulf between striking success and hopeless failure.

GREAT CAUTION DEMANDED.

"An additional reason for caution in dealing with corporations is to be found in the international commercial conditions of to-day. The same business conditions which have produced the great aggregations of corporate and individual wealth have made them very potent factors in international commercial competition. Business concerns which have the largest means at their disposal and are managed by the ablest men are naturally those which take the lead in the strife for commercial supremacy among the nations of the world.

"America has only just begun to assume that commanding position in the international business world which we believe will more and more be hers. It is of the utmost importance that this position be not jeopardized, especially at a time when the overflowing abundance of our own natural resources and the skill, business energy and mechanical aptitude of our people make foreign markets essential. Under such conditions it would be most unwise to cramp or to fetter the youthful strength of our nation.

"Moreover, it cannot too often be pointed out that to strike with ignorant violence at the interest of one set of men almost inevitably endangers the interests of all. The fundamental rule in our national life—the rule which underlies all others—is that, on the whole, and in the long run, we shall go up or down together.

"There are exceptions, and in times of prosperity some will

prosper far more, and in times of adversity some will suffer far more, than others ; but speaking generally, a period of good times means that all share more or less in them, and in a period of hard times all feel the stress to a greater or less degree. It surely ought not to be necessary to enter into any proof of this statement ; the memory of the lean years which began in 1893 is still vivid, and we can contrast them with the conditions in this very year which is now closing.

“Disaster to great business enterprises can never have its effects limited to the men at the top. It spreads throughout, and while it is bad for everybody, it is worst for those farthest down. The capitalist may be shorn of his luxuries ; but the wage-worker may be deprived of even bare necessities.

APPEAL TO HATRED AND FEAR.

“The mechanism of modern business is so delicate that extreme care must be taken not to interfere with it in a spirit of rashness or ignorance. Many of those who have made it their vocation to denounce the great industrial combinations which are popularly, although with technical inaccuracy, known as ‘trusts,’ appeal especially to hatred and fear.

“These are precisely the two emotions, particularly when combined with ignorance, which unfit men for the exercise of cool and steady judgment. In facing new industrial conditions, the whole history of the world shows that legislation will generally be both unwise and ineffective unless undertaken after calm inquiry and with sober self-restraint. Much of the legislation directed at the trusts would have been exceedingly mischievous had it not also been entirely ineffective.

“In accordance with the well-known sociological law, the ignorant or reckless agitator has been the really effective friend of the evils which he has been nominally opposing. In dealing with business interests, for the Government to undertake by crude and ill-considered legislation to do what may turn out to be bad, would be to incur the risk of such far-reaching national disaster that it would be preferable to undertake nothing at all.

"The men who demand the impossible or the undesirable serve as the allies of the forces with which they are nominally at war, for they hamper those who would endeavor to find out in rational fashion what the wrongs really are and to what extent and in what manner it is practicable to apply remedies.

"All this is true, and yet it is also true that there are real and grave evils, one of the chief being over-capitalization, because of its many baneful consequences, and a resolute and practical effort must be made to correct these evils.

HURTFUL TO GENERAL WELFARE.

"There is a wide-spread conviction in the minds of the American people that the great corporations known as 'trusts' are in certain of their features and tendencies hurtful to the general welfare. This springs from no spirit of envy or uncharitableness, nor lack of pride in the great industrial achievements that have placed this country at the head of the nations struggling for commercial supremacy.

"It does not rest upon a lack of intelligent appreciation of the necessity of meeting changing and changed conditions of trade with new methods, nor upon ignorance of the fact that combination of capital in the effort to accomplish great things is necessary when the world's progress demands that great things be done. It is based upon sincere conviction that combination and concentration should be, not prohibited, but supervised and within reasonable limits controlled; and in my judgment this conviction is right.

"It is no limitation upon property rights or freedom of contract to require that when men receive from Government the privilege of doing business under corporate form, which frees them from individual responsibility, and enables them to call into their enterprises the capital of the public, they shall do so upon absolutely truthful representations as to the value of the property in which the capital is to be invested.

"Corporations engaged in interstate commerce should be regulated if they are found to exercise a license working to the public

injury. It should be as much the aim of those who seek for social betterment to rid the business world of crimes of cunning as to rid the entire body politic of crimes of violence. Great corporations exist only because they are created and safeguarded by our institutions; and it is therefore our right and duty to see that they work in harmony with these institutions."

In this bold and fearless way did President Roosevelt express his convictions on two important subjects that were agitating the American people. They yielded to the force of his incisive logic and acknowledged him to be a man of high and noble aims, a man of keen intellect and broad views, and capable of mastering the most difficult questions.

It was seen that he was a deep thinker, a grand exponent of American ideas, a patriot with whom love of country was a passion, and not a mere tyro in the affairs of government.



CHAPTER XIX.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION.

BEGINNING OF HIS LIFE AS CHIEF EXECUTIVE—GRAVE PUBLIC QUESTIONS—POLICY OF MCKINLEY—ASSAULT MADE ON RECIPROCITY—OPPOSITION TO TREATIES—PANAMA CANAL—PACIFIC CABLE—HIS EXCELLENT APPOINTMENTS—FACTIONS IN ILLINOIS—ATTITUDE ON TRUSTS—NORTHERN SECURITIES CASE—PENSION ORDER.

WHEN Theodore Roosevelt was yet Vice President and had no thought that he would succeed to the Presidency of the nation through the death of William McKinley, he said:—"I am going to be a candidate for President. I shall do the very best I can to obtain that nomination. But if I do not get it I shall accept the result cheerfully, and although it will be a great disappointment to me should I fail to be the candidate of my party, I shall not sulk nor let it embitter my life."

Mr. Roosevelt made this statement at the house of Mr. Ansley Wilcox at Buffalo, in September, 1901, when he was packing up, preparing to leave for the Adirondacks. President McKinley had been shot a few days before and on that day the physicians had given the opinion that he would recover. The whole country breathed a sigh of relief and no one felt more joyful than Mr. Roosevelt. The man was supremely happy that the Presidency was not going to come to him through the assassin's bullet.

"To become President in this way," he had said, "means nothing to me. Aside from the horror of having President McKinley die, there is an additional horror in becoming his successor in that way. The thing that appeals to me is to be elected President. That is the way I want the honor to come, if I am ever to receive it."

Mr. Roosevelt went to the Adirondacks. When there, Mr.

McKinley took a sudden change for the worse and died while the Vice President was on his way back to Buffalo to take the oath and assume the responsibilities of the office of President.

This is to be an account of the administration of Mr. Roosevelt from the middle of September, 1901, to the present time, with some idea of how his different administrative acts have affected his relations with the country and the politicians and the bearing these will have upon his chances of election on November 8.

The stewardship of President Roosevelt began with that impressive scene in the Wilcox parlor at Buffalo when he raised his hand and said, "I will do all in my power to carry out absolutely unbroken the policy of William McKinley."

GREAT QUESTIONS TO BE SETTLED.

Mr. Roosevelt began his administration with a session of Congress only a little more than two months distant. Several large questions were pressing on the country. Mr. McKinley had already begun to handle them. One of these was the Pan-American Canal. Another was reciprocity with Cuba. Still another was the laying of the Pacific cable. Yet another was the extension of the American merchant marine, and finally, one considered by Mr. McKinley of the greatest importance, was a change in our tariff system, especially as it affected the extension of our foreign commerce so that duties might be lowered and reciprocal trade relations established.

All these things were touched upon by Mr. McKinley in his speech at Buffalo. It will be instructive to every American to occasionally read that speech.

McKinley dwelt at great length on the subject of reciprocity. It is evident that he intended this speech as a sort of first step in reaching a goal which even to him did not appear at that time very definite. He foresaw the drooping of American exports. He foresaw the shrinking of customs revenues from foreign imports. He seemed to discern very quickly that the Dingley schedules could not become permanent and that there must be elasticity in our schedules and that the high tariff must be lowered.

But he was not very clear as to the method he would follow. He was very certain that the day of exclusiveness was past. He made that statement without any qualification. But he also still adhered to the thought that we must have protection for those things that we produce in competition with other countries, and at the same time declared that there might safely be on some articles of production a reduction in customs duties.

The very obstacle which President Roosevelt encountered in carrying out the policy of William McKinley came from the high protective tariff men—from the “stand patters,” who would let well enough alone.

ASSAULT ON RECIPROCITY.

The assault was first made on reciprocity. A number of these treaties were pending in the Senate. Mr. McKinley and John Hay had appointed John A. Kasson a commissioner to negotiate these treaties. They were with France, with Argentina, with a number of the British colonies, in all seven or eight of them. The Senate refused to ratify the treaties. Mr. McKinley, and Mr. Hay had both despaired of getting them through the Senate, and Mr. Kasson had refused to accept any salary from the United States because his work could not be ratified in the Senate.

The protectionists swooped down on the new President in a desperate effort to bury the treaties, which were conceded to be already dead. Mr. Roosevelt, the very first work of his administration, declared that he was going to do everything he could to have the treaties ratified, but he even at that early day was beginning to see the hopelessness of the task of standing up against the solid phalanx of the Senate. In the end the reciprocity treaties were dropped, with the exception of that which gave Cuba a reduction in duties on her products in return for a similar reduction on American products.

The first great contest the President had crystallized around the Cuban treaty. There was no question that the United States was in honor bound to ratify this treaty. President McKinley was committed to it. So were Secretary of War Root, Secretary of

State Hay, Senators Lodge, Platt (of Connecticut), Aldrich, Allison, Spooner, and in fact, all the so called leaders of the Senate. The President's fight for Cuba lasted through the entire session of 1901-02, necessitating the calling of an extra session in November, 1903, and was not finally won until the regular session had begun the following December.

The President never swerved in his efforts to obtain an isthmian canal. The platform on which McKinley and Roosevelt were elected declared for the construction of a canal via the Isthmus of Panama, and did not indorse the Nicaragua route. Mr. Roosevelt before he had been in office many months was convinced that either route was feasible. He made a speech at a private dinner in which he said that he would sooner have a canal by either route than no canal at all.

CANAL MUST BE CONSTRUCTED.

The selection of the Panama route was made by Congress, but the bill which provided for it contained an alternative proposition that if certain conditions could not be complied with the government should build the canal via Nicaragua.

The whole question of the choice of routes seemed to depend upon the ratification of Colombia by a treaty. The Colombians refused to ratify that treaty, although they were repeatedly warned that if they did not do so serious consequences were likely to ensue. President Roosevelt was determined that no South American Republic should stand in the way of manifest destiny, and he was equally determined that the canal should be begun during his administration, and if possible before the Republican National Convention met.

Then came the revolution in Panama. It was "capitalized" by persons who had an interest in disposing of the franchises and property of the new Panama Canal Company to the United States for \$40,000,000, and a new government was proclaimed on it. There is no doubt, however, that every person on the isthmus favored the movement.

It has been charged that President Roosevelt connived at this

revolution. It is certain that this government had given the government of Colombia ample warning that something might occur. It is also true that Senator Cullom, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, after an interview with the President at Oyster Bay last year, said:—"If we do not get a canal treaty with Colombia we may be able to make one with Panama."

Be that as it may, Panama declared her independence. She was recognized as an independent republic by the United States in about three days. Then the treaty empowering the United States to keep open the isthmus pathway was invoked. United States men-of-war prevented the landing of Colombian troops and by a show of force prevented Colombia from reconquering the revolting province.

THE PRESIDENT JUSTIFIED.

The justification of the President by his spokesmen for this action is the frank assertion that Colombia had never acted in faith with us, was endeavoring to use the methods of an international brigand, and that the United States was acting clearly in the interests of the whole world in seizing this opportunity to obtain the canal.

In the matter of a Pacific cable, President Roosevelt's administration carried out the policy of President McKinley, and San Francisco is now connected by an all-American line with the Philippines, and is soon to be connected with China and Japan.

But in the plan of McKinley to obtain subsidy for a merchant marine, no headway whatever has been made. The principal advocate of that measure, Senator Hanna, is dead. A commission has been appointed to make exhaustive inquiry, and the subject will undoubtedly come up in the next Congress, because a ship subsidy is indorsed by the Republican national platform.

So much for the principal points in the policy of President McKinley, as enumerated in his last speech. It becomes necessary to consider the actions of the President aside from those matters which bear directly on McKinley's policy.

In many respects Mr. Roosevelt has mapped out a policy of his own. He entered the White House as a leading exponent in the United States of high principles in politics. It was to be assumed that President Roosevelt, in making appointments, would endeavor to obtain the very highest type and only consider moral rectitude and mental capacity. It was to be assumed that he would also hold himself strictly within the law.

The first serious problem which confronted the President was the appointment of Federal officers in New York. The terms of Collector Bidwell and Wilbur F. Wakeman were about to expire. Mr. Bidwell was warmly supported by Senator Platt for reappointment. Mr. Wakeman's dismissal from the service was desired by Senator Platt. Against Mr. Bidwell charges had been filed. Mr. Wakeman had also been charged with being a mischief maker and with enforcing the law too strictly.

EXTENSIVE FRAUDS EXPOSED.

But he had rendered a peculiar Rooseveltian service in exposing the most extensive frauds in the customs known for generations against the united opposition of the Treasury Department, including Mr. Bidwell. The President decided that Wakeman should be sacrificed as well as Bidwell, and the change was made.

The President appointed James S. Clarkson, who was regarded as a spoilsman when he was Assistant Postmaster General under President Harrison, to the position of Surveyor of the Port. He made Mr. Clarkson his confidential adviser as to the use of patronage in the South for the purpose of breaking down opposition to him there and obtaining Southern delegates.

When the exposures of abuse in the Post Office Department intimated that not only was Postmaster Van Cott incompetent, but that Richard Van Cott, the Postmaster's son, had frequently assumed the functions of Postmaster, and had been very close to George W. Beavers, the President yielded to Senator Platt and kept Van Cott in office. He merely required the resignation of Richard Van Cott.

When a great fight arose in the city of Chicago between the

faction headed by Senators Hopkins and Cullom and Representative Lorimer and that headed by Charles S. Deneen the President permitted the Federal patronage to be used to strengthen the machine. A year before in a similar fight he had ordered "hands off;" now he changed.

This patronage was used directly to crush Mr. Deneen, who was an independent Republican and who had made a great record as State's Attorney for Cook county.

The widely known "Doc" Jamison, was appointed Collector of the Port of Chicago at the request of the "Federal crowd." It roused great public indignation in Chicago, and the result was that a revolt was started against Jamison in his own ward which defeated him as a candidate for Alderman, defeated him as a delegate to the State Convention and left him absolutely without any local following.

STANDARD OF OFFICIALS RAISED.

Independents and reformers freely admit that generally the efforts of the President have tended to raise the standard of men in office. But scattered all over the country here and there are cases like those of Jamison in Chicago and Van Cott in New York.

The President's attitude on trusts was the subject of wide discussion during the campaign. This is a subject to which Mr. Roosevelt early gave attention.

As Governor of New York he shocked Senator Platt, B. B. Odell, Jr., and the late Charles W. Hackett by insisting on writing a message in which he brought to the very forefront the discussion of the overcapitalization of corporations and the amalgamation of other corporations for the purpose of cheapening production and raising prices. He followed this up as a candidate for Vice President in his letter of acceptance and in a speech delivered at Minneapolis after he was elected Vice President.

When he succeeded to the Presidency he began to devote his attention to this subject. If this was a part of the policy of William McKinley, William McKinley had never disclosed it. The

question of the regulation of trusts, however, had figured conspicuously in the platform of 1900.

President Roosevelt in his first message made strong recommendations in favor of the adoption of a scheme to compel corporations doing an interstate commerce business to make public statements of their internal affairs, so that the public when investing could be advised as to how much stock was water, how much the fixed charges were and whether dividends would ever be paid. He was also in favor of a law which would require their regulation by Congress in addition to that imposed by the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

At that time the general opinion of lawyers was that the Sherman Anti-Trust law was unconstitutional. Mr. Roosevelt went so far as to say that if the Sherman law was unconstitutional we ought to have an amendment to the constitution.

STANDING "PAT" ON THE TRUSTS.

The President's advisers in Congress were unanimous almost in favor of doing nothing about the trusts. They wanted to "stand pat" on the trusts as well as on the tariff. The President kept at it. The longer the President insisted the stronger the opposition became. Finally an opportunity for action came which was to demonstrate the effectiveness of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, and have a great bearing on the trust policy in Congress.

Attorney-General Knox began injunction proceedings against the Beef Trust. The injunction was sustained, and the Beef Trust was, theoretically at least "put out of business."

Then the President ordered Mr. Knox to take up the cudgels against the Northern Securities Company. Judge Thayer and subsequently the Judges of the Court of Appeals took an advanced view of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, and wrote a new page in legal history. With these decisions passed any necessity for any further amendment of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. Then came a compromise of the President with the trusts.

This compromise consisted in a definite abandonment of the essential principles of the President's publicity programme. He

consented to have that feature of his great propaganda covered in a paragraph inserted in the bill creating the new Department of Commerce and Labor, which erected a Bureau of Corporations that would have power to examine into all questions relating to corporations in this country.

The only purpose of this new bureau was to collect data for the information of the President, which could be made public or not at the option of the President, and which should be used by him in making recommendations to Congress for future legislation. Another part of the trust programme was a bill to expedite suits such as the Northern Securities merger, so an early decision could be obtained in the Supreme Court.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE LAW.

Still another phase of it was an amendment to the Interstate Commerce law, by which railroad officials were relieved of all criminal prosecution for giving rebates and permitting secret rates to favored shippers.

Undoubtedly the President's position on the trust question has aroused deep resentment for him on the part of many great capitalists of the country, so the things he has done must have hurt their feelings. The great banks of the country have become very much interested in the exploitation of industrial corporations. Indeed, it might be said that the organizers of these great trusts dominate the money market.

These banks have their ramifications all over the country, and it was expected that in the campaign every small banker from the Atlantic to the Pacific would be either indifferent toward the election of President Roosevelt or openly hostile.

President Roosevelt shocked a great many thoughtful persons when he authorized the Secretary of the Interior to issue the famous pension order. It is charged that the President in doing this usurped the power of Congress and took the position that he was law and government of himself.

The President was very anxious to please the Grand Army veterans. They have been a constant source of danger to the

Republican party, because their entire incentive to organization is a large pension for every man who fought for his country during the Civil War. The Grand Army had insisted on the dismissal from service of H. Clay Evans, of Tennessee, who has the record of being one of the best Commissioners of Pensions that ever served under a Republican administration.

President Roosevelt finally consented to accept Mr. Evans'



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND HIS SON THEODORE, JR.

resignation, but he gave him the position of Consul General at London, where his income was several times what it was in Washington.

The Grand Army went to Washington to demand a service pension. A bill was drawn which would give every survivor of the Civil War who had reached the age of sixty-two years, whether he was wholly or partially disabled or not disabled at all, a service

pension. This would have cost the Government twenty or thirty million dollars a year. Some estimates have placed it as high as fifty million dollars a year. The leaders in Congress created a situation which made them declare that they could not pass the service pension bill. Someone in Washington conceived the idea of a service pension by executive order.

It was recalled that President Cleveland had issued an order which gave a service pension to all the surviving veterans of the Mexican War. The assumption was that the law gave the commissioners of pensions authority to assume that when a veteran had reached the age of sixty-two years he was partially disabled. The executive order recognized age as disability, and the Mexican War veterans got pensions without examination.

President Roosevelt's service pension order followed the lines of President Cleveland's. There was no question in any of the explanations as to whether it was right or wrong to thus take money out of the public treasury while a bill was pending in Congress. The whole consideration seemed to be that if Cleveland had done it Roosevelt could do it. And if Roosevelt didn't do it Congress could be forced to pass a bill which would cost the treasury a much larger sum.

This incident was used during the campaign to strengthen the Democratic armament that Roosevelt is an "impulsive, dangerous man," and the "living embodiment of one man power."

But his friends triumphantly ask what he has done to give him this reputation, and claim that he has acted all along in such a wise and conservative way that the country takes no stock in the "impulse" outcry.

Taking President Roosevelt's administration from first to last, it is claimed by his party that he ranks with the greatest Presidents our country has ever had.

CHAPTER XX.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ACCEPTS THE NOMINATION.

ROOSEVELT NOTIFIED JULY 27TH—KEPT HIS PROMISE TO CARRY OUT MCKINLEY'S POLICIES—DEMOCRATIC INCONSISTENCY—ENFORCEMENT OF LAW—SOUND GOLD BASIS—THE TARIFF AND TRUSTS—CUBA AND OUR COLONIAL POSSESSIONS—THE PANAMA CANAL—INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

DECLARING that he was willing to stand or fall by the acts of his administration, President Roosevelt formally accepted the Republican nomination for President. Notification of the action of the Chicago Convention was made on behalf of a committee representing every State and Territory in the United States by Joseph G. Cannon, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The ceremony took place at the President's country home at Sagamore Hill, Long Island. In accordance with the wishes of the President, the ceremony was made as simple as possible. The President's address was as follows:

I am deeply sensible of the high honor conferred upon me by the representatives of the Republican party assembled in convention, and I accept the nomination for the Presidency with solemn realization of the obligations I assume. I heartily approve the declaration of principles which the Republican National Convention has adopted.

Three years ago I became President because of the death of my lamented predecessor. I then stated that it was my purpose to carry out his principles and policies for the honor and the interest of the country. To the best of my ability I have kept the promise thus made. If, in November, my countrymen confirm at the polls the action of the convention you represent, I shall, under Providence, continue to work with an eye single to the welfare of all our people.

A party is of worth only in so far as it promotes the national interest, and every official, high or low, can serve his party best by rendering to the people the best service of which he is capable. Effective government comes only as the result of the loyal co-operation of many different persons. The members of a legislative majority, the officers of the various departments of the adminis-

tration, and the legislative and executive branches must work together with subordination of self to the common end of successful government.

We who have been entrusted with power as public servants during the past seven years of administration and legislation now come before the people content to be judged by our record of achievement. In the years that have gone by we have made the deed square with the world; and if we are continued in power we shall unswervingly follow out the great lines of public policy which the Republican party has already laid down; a public policy to which we are giving, and shall give, a united, and therefore an efficient, support.

DEMOCRATIC INCONSISTENCY.

In all of this we are more fortunate than our opponents, who now appeal for confidence on the ground, which some express and some seek to have confidentially understood, that if triumphant they may be trusted to prove false to every principle which in the last eight years they have laid down as vital, and to leave undisturbed those very acts of the administration because of which they ask that the administration itself be driven from power. Seemingly their present attitude as to their past record is that some of them were mistaken and others insincere.

We make our appeal in a wholly different spirit. We are not constrained to keep silent on any vital question; we are divided on no vital question; our policy is continuous, and is the same for all sections and localities. There is nothing experimental about the government we ask the people to continue in power, for our performance in the past, our proved governmental efficiency, is a guarantee as to our promises for the future.

Our opponents, either openly or secretly, according to their several temperaments, now ask the people to trust their present promises in consideration of the fact that they intend to treat their past promises as null and void.

We know our own minds and we have kept of the same mind for a sufficient length of time to give our policy coherence and sanity. In such a fundamental matter as the enforcement of the law we do not have to depend upon promises, but merely to ask that our record be taken as an earnest of what we shall continue to do.

In dealing with the great organizations known as trusts, we do not have to explain why the laws were not enforced, but to point

out that they actually have been enforced and that legislation has been enacted to increase the effectiveness of their enforcement.

We do not have to propose to "turn the rascals out," for we have shown in every deed that whenever by diligent investigation a public official can be found who has betrayed his trust he will be punished to the full extent of the law without regard to whether he was appointed under a Republican or a Democratic administration.

This is the efficient way to turn the rascals out and to keep them out, and it has the merit of sincerity. Moreover the betrayals of trust in the last seven years have been insignificant in number when compared with the extent of the public service. Never has the administration of the government been on a cleaner and higher level; never has the public work of the nation been done more honestly and efficiently.

A SOUND GOLD BASIS.

Assuredly it is unwise to change the policies which have worked so well and which are now working so well. Prosperity has come at home. The national honor and interest have been upheld abroad.

We have placed the finances of the nation upon a sound gold basis. We have done this with the aid of many who were formerly our opponents, but who would neither openly support nor silently acquiesce in the heresy of unsound finance; and we have done it against the convinced and violent opposition of the mass of our present opponents who still refuse to recant the unsound opinions which for the moment they think it inexpedient to assert.

We know what we mean when we speak of an honest and stable currency. We mean the same thing from year to year. We do not have to avoid a definite and conclusive committal on the most important issue which has recently been before the people, and which may at any time in the near future be before them again.

Upon the principles which underlie this issue the convictions of half of our number do not clash with those of the other half.

So long as the Republican party is in power the gold standard is settled, not as a matter of temporary political expediency, not because of shifting conditions in the production of gold in certain mining centers, but in accordance with what we regard as the fundamental principles of national morality and wisdom.

Under the financial legislation which we have enacted there is now ample circulation for every business need; and every dollar

of this circulation is worth a dollar in gold. We have reduced the interest-bearing debt and in still larger measure the interest on that debt. All of the war taxes imposed during the Spanish war have been removed with a view to relieve the people and to prevent the accumulation of an unnecessary surplus.

The result is that hardly ever before have the expenditures and income of the government so closely corresponded. In the fiscal year that has just closed the excess of income over the ordinary expenditures was nine millions of dollars. This does not take account of the fifty millions expended out of the accumulated surplus for the purchase of the Isthmian Canal.

TARIFF READJUSTMENT.

It is an extraordinary proof of the sound financial condition of the nation that instead of following the usual course in such matters and throwing the burden upon posterity by an issue of bonds, we were able to make the payment outright and yet after it to have in the Treasury a surplus of one hundred and sixty-one millions. Moreover, we were able to pay this fifty millions of dollars out of hand without causing the slightest disturbance to business conditions.

We have enacted a tariff law under which during the past few years the country has attained a height of material well-being never before reached. Wages are higher than ever before. That whenever the need arises there should be a readjustment of the tariff schedules is undoubted; but such changes can with safety be made only by those whose devotion to the principle of a protective tariff is beyond question; for otherwise the changes would amount not to readjustment but to repeal.

The readjustment when made must maintain and not destroy the protective principle. To the farmer, the merchant, the manufacturer this is vital; but perhaps no other man is so much interested as the wage worker in the maintenance of our present economic system, both as regards the finances and the tariff.

The standard of living of our wage-workers is higher than that of any other country, and it cannot so remain unless we have a protective tariff which shall always keep as a minimum a rate of duty sufficient to cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad. Those who, like our opponents, "denounce protection as a robbery," thereby explicitly commit themselves to the proposition that if they were to revise the tariff no heed would be paid to the necessity of meeting this difference between the standards

of living for wage-workers here and in other countries; and, therefore, on this point their antagonism to our position is fundamental.

Here again we ask that their promises and ours be judged by what has been done in the immediate past. We ask that sober and sensible men compare the workings of the present tariff law and the conditions which obtain under it, with the workings of the preceding tariff law of 1894 and the conditions which that tariff of 1894 helped to bring about.

FIRM FOR RECIPROCITY.

We believe in reciprocity with foreign nations on the terms outlined in President McKinley's last speech, which urged the extension of our foreign markets by reciprocal agreements whenever they could be made without injury to American industry and labor.

It is a singular fact that the only great reciprocity treaty recently adopted—that with Cuba—was finally opposed almost alone by the representatives of the very party which now states that it favors reciprocity. And here again we ask that the worth of our words be judged by comparing their deeds with ours.

On this Cuban reciprocity treaty there were at the outset grave differences of opinion among ourselves; and the notable thing in the negotiation and ratification of the treaty, and in the legislation which carried it into effect, was the highly practical manner in which without sacrifice of principle these differences of opinion were reconciled. There was no rupture of a great party, but an excellent practical outcome, the result of the harmonious co-operation of two successive Presidents and two successive Congresses.

This is an illustration of the governing capacity which entitles us to the confidence of the people not only in our purposes but in our practical ability to achieve those purposes. Judging by the history of the last twelve years, down to this very month, is there justification for believing that under similar circumstances and with similar initial differences of opinion, our opponents would have achieved any practical result?

We have already shown in actual fact that our policy is to do fair and equal justice to all men, paying no heed to whether a man is rich or poor; paying no heed to his race, his creed, or his birthplace.

We recognize the organization of capital and the organization of labor as natural outcomes of our industrial system. Each kind

of organization is to be favored so long as it acts in a spirit of justice and of regard for the rights of others. Each is to be granted the full protection of the law, and each in turn is to be held to a strict obedience to the law; for no man is above and no man below it.

The humblest individual is to have his rights safeguarded as scrupulously as those of the strongest organization, for each is to receive justice, no more and no less. The problems with which we have to deal in our modern industrial and social life are manifold; but the spirit in which it is necessary to approach their solution is simply the spirit of honesty, of courage, and of common sense.

THE PANAMA CANAL.

In inaugurating the great work of irrigation in the West the Administration has been enabled by Congress to take one of the longest strides ever taken under our government toward utilizing our vast national domain for the settler, the actual home-maker.

Ever since this continent was discovered the need of an Isthmian Canal to connect the Pacific and the Atlantic has been recognized; and ever since the birth of our nation such a canal has been planned. At last the dream has become a reality. The Isthmian Canal is now being built by the government of the United States.

We conducted the negotiation for its construction with the nicest and most scrupulous honor, and in a spirit of the largest generosity toward those through whose territory it was to run. Every sinister effort which could be devised by the spirit of faction or the spirit of self-interest was made in order to defeat the Treaty with Panama and thereby prevent the consummation of this work.

The construction of the canal is now an assured fact; but most certainly it is unwise to entrust the carrying out of so momentous a policy to those who have endeavored to defeat the whole undertaking.

Our foreign policy has been so conducted that, while not one of our just claims has been sacrificed, our relations with all foreign nations are now of the most friendly character and there is not a cloud on the horizon. The last cause of irritation between our government and any other nation was removed by the settlement of the Alaskan boundary.

In the Caribbean Sea we have made good our promises of independence to Cuba, and have proved our assertion that our

mission in the island was one of justice and not of self-aggrandizement; and thereby no less than by our action in Venezuela and Panama we have shown that the Monroe Doctrine is a living reality, designed for the protection of civilization on the western continent, and for the peace of the whole world.

Our steady growth in power has gone hand in hand with a strengthening disposition to use this power with strict regard for the rights of others, and for the cause of international justice and good-will.

FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

We earnestly desire friendship with all the nations of the New and Old Worlds; and we endeavor to place our relations with them upon a basis of reciprocal advantage instead of hostility. We hold that the prosperity of each nation is an aid and not a hindrance to the prosperity of other nations.

We seek international amity for the same reasons that make us believe in peace within our own borders; and we seek this peace not because we are afraid or unready, but because we think that peace is right as well as advantageous.

American interests in the Pacific have rapidly grown. American enterprise has laid a cable across this, the greatest of oceans. We have proved in effective fashion that we wish the Chinese Empire well and desire its integrity and independence.

Our foothold in the Philippines greatly strengthens our position in the competition for the trade of the East; but we are governing the Philippines in the interest of the Philippine people themselves. We have already given them a large share in their government, and our purpose is to increase this share as rapidly as they give evidence of increasing fitness for the task.

The great majority of the officials of the islands, whether elective or appointive, are already native Filipinos. We are now providing for a legislative assembly. This is the first step to be taken in the future; and it would be eminently unwise to declare what our next step will be until this first step has been taken and the results are manifest. To have gone faster than we have already gone in giving the islanders a constantly increasing measure of self-government would have been disastrous.

At the present moment to give political independence to the islands would result in the immediate loss of civil rights, personal liberty and public order, as regards the mass of the Filipinos, for the islanders have been given these great boons by us, and

only keep them because we vigilantly safeguard and guarantee them.

To withdraw our government from the islands at this time would mean to the average native the loss of his civil freedom. We have established in the islands a government by Americans assisted by Filipinos. We are steadily striving to transform this into self-government by the Filipinos assisted by Americans.

The principles which we uphold should appeal to all our countrymen, in all portions of our country. Above all they should give us strength with the men and women who are the spiritual heirs of those who upheld the hands of Abraham Lincoln; for we are striving to do our work in the spirit with which Lincoln approached his.

During the seven years that have just passed there is no duty, domestic or foreign, which we have shirked; no necessary task which we have feared to undertake, or which we have not performed with reasonable efficiency. We have never pleaded impotence. We have never sought refuge in criticism and complaint instead of action. We face the future with our past and our present as guarantors of our promises; and we are content to stand or to fall by the record which we have made and are making.

Theodore Roosevelt

CHAPTER XXI.

ROOSEVELT TRIUMPHANTLY ELECTED.

THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION—CONSPICUOUS ACTS—NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS—A QUIET CAMPAIGN—THE MINDS OF VOTERS MADE UP—ROOSEVELT ELECTED BY AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY—GREAT TIDAL WAVE—SPLENDID TRIBUTE TO THE MAN HIMSELF—VISIT TO ST. LOUIS.

IN his masterly speech at the National Republican Convention in Chicago, Hon. Elihu Root summed up in a few words the achievements of Mr. Roosevelt's administration of three years and a half, following the assassination of President McKinley. Words of glowing eulogy were spoken in that Convention, but these were tame and empty compared with the conspicuous deeds by which Mr. Roosevelt's administration was distinguished. There was unanimous agreement with Mr. Root's statement of what had been accomplished under the vigorous leadership of the President, and there was no disposition to belittle the acts upon which the government based its claim for the continued confidence of the people.

Mr. Root declared : " The present administration has reduced taxation, reduced the public debt, reduced the annual interest charge, made effective progress in the regulation of trusts, fostered business, promoted agriculture, built up the navy, reorganized the army, resurrected the military system, inaugurated a new policy for the preservation and reclamation of public lands, given civil government to the Philippines, established the Republic of Cuba, bound it to us by ties of gratitude, of commercial interest and of common defence, swung open the closed gateway of the Isthmus, strengthened the Monroe Doctrine, ended the Alaska boundary dispute, protected the integrity of China, opened wider its doors of

trade, advanced the principle of arbitration and promoted peace among the nations.

"We challenge judgment upon this record of effective performance in legislation, in execution and in administration."

The great Republican party felt that this was a truthful estimate of what had been accomplished, and justly claimed the approval of all classes of our citizens.

This approval was evident from the very beginning of the campaign. There was little need of discussion. Like granite pillars in the affairs of the nation stood the acts by which the government at Washington was to be judged. The country had been well informed as to the current of Federal legislation.

EFFORTS TO INFLUENCE VOTERS.

There was, therefore, little to do in the campaign except for the party leaders to hold their voters in line and fire them with sufficient enthusiasm to bring them to the polls on election day. However, the usual campaign methods were resorted to and vigorous attempts were made to influence voters. In the newspaper press and on the public platform, the issues of the contest were thoroughly discussed. More and more it became evident that, without any help, the voters had made up their minds, and only awaited the day when they would give formal expression to their views at the ballot box.

This was so manifest, that ex-Governor Black said, in placing Mr. Roosevelt in nomination: "We are here to inaugurate a campaign which seems already to be nearly closed. So wisely have the people sowed and watched and tended there seems little now to do but to measure up the grain. They are ranging themselves not for battle, but for harvest. In one column reaching from the Maine woods to the Puget Sound are those people and those States which have stood so long together, that when great emergencies arise the nation turns instinctively to them. In this column, vast and solid, is a majority so overwhelming that the scattered squads in opposition can hardly raise another army."

This statement was no exaggeration, which was proved by the

election of the Republican candidates by overwhelming majorities. The next morning after the election a prominent journal commented as follows :

" It is a stupendous and overwhelming victory. There has been nothing like its extraordinary and magnificent proportions since the Grant whirlwind over Greeley in 1872, and the popular majorities are far greater even than then. President Roosevelt carries every Northern State. He gains everywhere over even 1900 and 1896.

" On this great tidal wave all the lesser objects are floated in. Congress is only second in importance, and it will show the largest Republican majority for many years. The Republican Governor in New York, bitterly fought, is triumphantly successful. In many States smaller doubts are turned into certainties. It is one vast oceanic sweep.

MAGNIFICENT TRIBUTE TO ROOSEVELT.

" The result is a splendid national tribute to President Roosevelt. It shows the unequaled place he holds in the affection, the admiration and the faith of the American people. It is in large measure his triumph. The principles, policies, aims and methods were those of his party and as broad as the nation ; but he has impressed his puissant individuality on them as only the rare towering figures of our history have done. He is stronger than party and greater than organization. The arrows of venom hurtled about him and fell harmless at his feet.

" His characteristics, exaggerated and distorted, were made the target ; he was treated as the chief issue ; he was called impulsive and unsafe and imperialistic ; but his brilliant and fascinating personality, his vigor, his purity, his honesty, his courage swept down all puny opposition and carried everything before him. This unmatched triumph makes him the most powerful figure of recent history. It arms him with Olympian strength, but it imposes corresponding responsibility. He has risen to every occasion and every duty. He has the sure token of the past as the talisman of the future.

"But it is far more than a personal victory in its national assurance. The glory of this American judgment is its American aspiration. It means that our great Republic will march on. It maintains our protective policy with its industrial prosperity. It fixes the gold standard with its business and financial security. It continues our brilliant and successful foreign policy, with its world-wide influence, its peaceful potentiality and its commercial opportunities.

"It stamps out the narrow and pusillanimous spirit which would dishonor us with American perfidy and desertion in the Philippines. It leaves America in the hands of the big Americans instead of turning it over to the little Americans. From this exultant day we can take new heart of hope.

"The President chooses the moment of his greatest triumph to announce that he will not be a candidate for another term.

NOT A CANDIDATE AGAIN.

"He is eligible even under the accepted unwritten law. He is only filling an unexpired term. This is his first election as President. It would not have been strange if he had aspired to a second. He might have remained silent. He chooses to speak and settle the question."

President Roosevelt made his first public appearance after the election at St. Louis, where he went to attend the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. The officials of the Fair gave him an urgent invitation to visit the Exposition, and, in company with members of his family and several friends, he arrived in St. Louis on November 26th. All along his route from Washington crowds of people awaited the arrival of his train and received him with loud cheers.

In St. Louis vast multitudes greeted him with every demonstration of respect, admiration and affection. His progress from one building to another was a continuous ovation, and his visit, so far as notables were in evidence, was the great feature of the Fair.

Presents of all sorts and descriptions were thrust upon him, and these could be measured only by the wagon load.

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